THE HYMN TO DEMETER AND HER SANCTUARY AT ELEUSIS

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ
1953 : 79 / 48 151

THE HYMN TO DEMETER AND HER SANCTUARY AT ELEUSIS

By

GEORGE EMMANUEL MYLONAS

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY OF ART
AND ARCHAEOLOGY
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY STUDIES—NEW SERIES
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE—No. 13
Saint Louis, 1942

To

KONSTANTINOS KOUROUNIOTES

CONTENTS

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION 1

II. THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER 9

III. THE *Νηός* OF THE GODDESS 28

IV. THE *Καλλίχορον* 64

V. THE *'Αγέλαστος Πέτρα* 82

VI. EPILOGUE 92

VII. INDEX 95

FIGURES

PAGE

1. Comparative Plans of Mycenaean and Sub-Geometric Houses 20
2. General Plan of the Remains of the Sanctuary Area 30
3. The Stairways to the North and to the South of the Perikleian Telesterion 35
4. The Megaron 52
5. Map. Athens, Eleusis and Their Surroundings 66

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. A., American Journal of Archaeology

Arch. Anz., Archaeologischer Anzeiger, Beiblatt Jahrbuch des Archaeologischen Instituts

Archiv, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft

Ath. Mitt., Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung

B. C. H., Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique

C. I. G., Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum

C. J., The Classical Journal

Deltion, *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημοσίας Ἐκπαιδεύσεως*

Ephemeris, *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική*

Farnell, L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*

Foucart, *Éleusis*, P. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Éleusis*, 1914

Frazer, J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece, Translated with a Commentary*, 1913

Froedin-Persson, *Asine*, Otto Froedin and Axel W. Persson, *Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations, 1922-1930*, 1938

Homeric Hymns, *The Homeric Hymns.* Edited by T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes (2d ed.), 1936

I. G., *Inscriptiones Graecae*

J. I. d' A. N., Journal international d'Archéologie numismatique

J. H. S., Journal of Hellenic Studies

Jahrb., Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung

Kourouniotes-Travlos, *Κ. Κουρουνιώτη καὶ Ἰ. Τραυλοῦ, "Τελεστήριον καὶ ναὸς Δήμητρος,"* *Deltion*, 1934-1935, 54-114

Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, *Κ. Κουρουνιώτη, Ἐλευσίς. Ὁδηγὸς τῶν ἀνασκαφῶν καὶ τοῦ Μουσείου*, 1934

Mylonas, *Eleusis*, *Γεωργίου Ἐ. Μυλωνᾶ, Προϊστορικὴ Ἐλευσίς*, 1932

Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," George E. Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), 415-431

Noack, *Eleusis*, F. Noack, *Die baugeschichtliche Entwickelung des Heiligtums*, 1927

Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion*, 1927

Praktika, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*

R. E. G., Revue des études grecques

R. Phil., Revue de philologie

R. Hist., Revue historique

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

" 'Η δὲ κιοῦσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι
δ[είξε,] Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε . . . . . .
δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι,
. . . . . σεμνά, ...
ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων
ὅς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὃς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων
αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι."

(Homeric hymn, vv. 474-482)

The site of Eleusis with its maze of ruins can illustrate excellently the vagaries of the human mind and the destruction which changes in human thought and belief always bring about. Indeed, it seems as if it is the sad fate of humankind to struggle, to labour, and to create so that its offspring in a later era may find enough to destroy and to annihilate. When we stand amidst the broken columns and the razed walls of the Eleusinian sanctuary we can scarcely visualize the splendour which characterized that great center of pagan worship. The silence, which, like a heavy shroud, covers its precinct today, will not give any indication of the exultant paeans which once filled its air and reached the very heavens above. The sight of all those broken stones leaves the visitor of today with a deep feeling of sadness and of frustrated hopes. And yet in days past to visit the sanctuary and to take part in its mysteries was considered the utmost of human bliss.

"ὦ τρισόλβιοι
κεῖνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη
μόλωσ' ἐς 'Αδου."[1]

The blue sky which covers its ruins today is the same as the one which smiled down upon a resplendent religious center years ago; the azure sea beyond, the green plains, and the purple rocks of Salamis and of Parnes are the same landmarks which greeted

[1] Sophocles, frag. 719 (ed. Dind.).

the pious pilgrims of the ancient world; but the ideas and the beliefs of the people have changed, and this change has transformed the magnificent and jubilant "*temenos* of the earth" into a vast and silent expanse of ruins.

Eleusis, of course, owes its reputation and long life to the famous mysteries which were held annually in honour of Demeter and of Persephone within its boundaries. A local cult at the beginning, the Eleusinian mysteries reached a panhellenic status when the area was incorporated in the Athenian commonwealth, and a universal standing when the Romans became the masters of the ancient world. People from all over the Hellenic and the Roman world flocked to the small city of Eleusis looking for that happiness after which the human soul is always yearning. And, if we believe our ancient authorities, they were not disappointed.

> "'Ολβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνα κοίλαν
> εἶσιν ὑπὸ χθόνα
> οἶδεν μὲν βίου κεῖνος τελευτὰν
> οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν."[2]

Poor and rich alike, rulers and ruled aspired to be initiated into these mysteries. Demetrios Poliorketes,[3] Sulla,[4] Augustus,[5] Domitian,[6] Hadrian,[7] and Marcus Aurelius[8] are only a few of the mighty men of old who stood reverently on the steps of the Telesterion to watch and to participate in the holy rites. The main details of these rites remain unknown in spite of the brilliant efforts of international scholars to determine them.[9] The

[2] Pindar, frag. 121 (ed. Oxford).

[3] Plutarch, *Demetrios* 26.

[4] *Ibid.*, *Sulla* 25.

[5] Suetonius, *Augustus* 93; Dio Cassius, LI, 4, 1.

[6] *B. C. H.*, XX (1896), 715; XXII (1898), 152; XXX (1906), 314.

[7] *C. I. G.*, I, 434; Aelius Spartianus, *Hadrian*, XIII, 1; XIX, 1; Dio Cassius, LXIX, 11, 1.

[8] *Ephemeris* (1883), pp. 77, 21-26. Cf. Giuliano Giannelli, "I Romani ad Eleusi," *Atti della reale Academia delle Scienze di Torino*, L (1914-1915), pp. 129-143, 147-166, where a documented list of Romans initiated in the mysteries is given.

[9] Chief among these are: C. A. Loebeck, *Aglaophamus*, pp. 3 ff.; P. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Éleusis* (1914); O. Kern, *Die Religion d. Griechen* (1926),

preliminary stages for the initiation—the concentration of the initiates in the Poekile Stoa (Boedromion 15), the general ablutions in the sea, the great procession along the Sacred Way on the 19th, the rite of the *krokos*, the reception at the great court of Eleusis—are well known to us; the main part of the service, however, held in the Telesterion, in the Hall of Initiation, during the nights of the 20th and 21st of Boedromion, will remain unknown. Perhaps it can be accepted as a fact that the rites were complicated and elaborate and that they passed a number of stages of development which resulted in a formal arrangement of the cult. The ritual seems to have been crystallized perhaps some time in the seventh century, when Dionysos was allowed at the side of Demeter and Persephone, and thereafter remained the same without any additions or alterations to the end of its existence.

When the cult came to its abrupt end cannot be determined. It is generally assumed that during the reign of Justinian the portals of the Telesterion were definitely closed, as were those of the Schools of Philosophy at Athens. However, Justinian's edict was not directed against the religion but against the philosophy of the Athenians and, consequently, it cannot be construed as the instrument which stopped the Eleusinian practices. Perhaps we can get a better indication of the approximate date of the end of the rites from a few Christian graves, which Kourouniotes uncovered lately, built against the southern end of the peribolos wall of the sanctuary.[10] Certainly those graves could not have been placed there if the sanctuary was still in the hands of the pagans and if it was functioning. In several of these graves a good number of vases were found which could at the very latest be placed in the fifth century. They seem, therefore, to indicate that by the middle or the latter quarter of that century the pagan rites at Eleusis had been stopped, and the area was taken over by the Christians. The excavations of the last decade have proved that the mysteries had been held at Eleusis

I; G. Meautis, *Les mystères d'Éleusis* (1934); V. Magnien, *Les mystères d'Éleusis*[2] (1938). We hope that in the near future our account of these mystic rites will appear.

[10] Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, p. 15.

since the fourteenth century B. C. For at least two thousand years, therefore, the cult of Demeter flourished in her sacred city, and the rites instituted there by the Goddess herself were revered by the people of the Hellenic world.

The length of the life of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis can be determined with some degree of certainty. Its origin and provenience have remained doubtful. Thus far, four main parts of the ancient world have been suggested as the possible cradles of the rites. Egypt,[11] Thessaly,[12] Thrace,[13] and Crete[14] were projected one after the other as the possible districts from which the mysteries of Demeter may have been imported into Greece. It would take too long to analyze and to discuss here the arguments advanced by the eminent champions of each of these districts. For the time being it will be sufficient to state our belief that the available evidence is not in favour of an Egyptian or Cretan origin, but that it indicates a northern provenience.[15] We hope that, in the near future, it will prove possible to publish a detailed analysis of the problem in the light of recent discoveries.

The ever-increasing popularity of the cult was followed, of course, by continuous expansion of the precinct area and of the facilities for the initiation of the constantly increasing numbers of pilgrims. As the years rolled by, the smaller temples were replaced by greater ones built over the same area on which the original temple to Demeter was constructed. The enceinte walls, which from the very beginning characterized the sanctuary, transforming it into a fortified enclosure, were moved farther

[11] Foucart, *Éleusis.* Cf. Diodorus Siculus, I, 29, 2. Herodotos, II, 123.

[12] Kern, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

[13] P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, p. 384. We may note Maass' suggestion that the Homeric hymn to Demeter belongs to the North (*Orpheus*, p. 178).

[14] A. W. Persson, *Archiv*, XXI (1922), 287 ff. Malten, *Jahrb.*, XXVIII (1913), 35 ff.: Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, III, 145 ff.; Charles Picard, "Sur la patrie et les pérégrinations de Déméter," *R. E. G.*, XL (1927), 337-359. Cf. L. R. Farnell in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans* (1927), pp. 21 ff.

[15] Cf. G. E. Mylonas, "Athens and Minoan Crete," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, special volume (1940), pp. 11-36.

away to the north, to the east, and to the south. Magnificent propylaea were constructed, vying in splendour with the vast hall of initiations, and the courts of the sanctuary were filled with votive monuments. The best known personalities of the Athenian commonwealth are connected with these architectural changes and additions. Peisistratos, Kimon, Perikles, Iktinos, Lykourgos, Philo, and others contributed to the expansion and to the magnificence of the Eleusinian sanctuary. In Roman imperial times and in the second century of our era, this sanctuary, considered as a group of buildings and monuments, reached the zenith of its development. In that same century destruction and decay began to creep into its life.

It seems that some of its buildings were partially destroyed during the invasion of the barbaric tribes of the Kostovokoi in the second century of our era,[16] but the damage was repaired after the barbarians were expelled from Attica. Further damages may have been inflicted upon its buildings by the hordes of Alaric which invaded that part of the Mediterranean world in 396. But the sanctuary was definitely destroyed, perhaps in the latter half of the fifth century, by the Christians, who built their church near the ruined Telesterion, and who used a good part of the sanctuary area as a cemetery. Crosses scratched upon the marble pavement of the Greater Propylaea and elsewhere mark this transformation, and could serve as the funeral symbols of a glorious cult which served humanity for two thousand years and which was buried in its own sanctuary, never to reappear.

The forgotten relics of the sanctuary of Demeter remained buried until 1812 when members of the Society of the Dilettanti made some preliminary investigations at the site and carried to England as a token of their discoveries one of the Karyatides of the Lesser Propylaea.[17] Additional investigations were carried out by Lenormant in 1860,[18] but the systematic excavation of the site was begun by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1882 and is still being carried on. For the excavation of Eleusis

[16] Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, p. 14.

[17] The results of their visit are included in *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica* (1817).

[18] *Recherches archéologiques à Éleusis* (1862).

we are especially indebted to three great Greek scholars, whose devoted and inspired work brought back to life and light the broken remains of the great sanctuary. From 1882 to 1892 the late Demetrios Philios uncovered the Telesterion area and, with the help of the late Wilhelm Doerpfeld, gave us the plans of its buildings. My late Professor Andreas Skias continued Philios' work from 1894 to 1907, especially investigating the "aule" of the Telesterion, the Geometric Cemetery and the prehistoric remains of Eleusis to the south of the precinct. Since 1917 Konstantinos Kourouniotes has been directing the excavation of the site with the same divine enthusiasm and zeal which inspired the work of the earlier investigators of Eleusis. I have had the rare privilege of working with him since 1930, and for this privilege I am deeply grateful to Dr. Kourouniotes.

The results of these excavations have in the main been given in reports published in the *Praktika* of the Archaeological Society of Greece, in the *Ephemeris* published by the same Society, and in the *Deltion* of the Greek Archaeological Service.[19] Brief guides to the site have also been published both by Philios and by Kourouniotes.[20] We owe the first complete discussion of the Eleusinian sanctuary to the late Professor Ferdinand Noack. In his monumental book, *Eleusis, die baugeschichtliche Entwickelung des Heiligtums,* 1927, Noack has given us in his characteristically masterful way the first detailed historic account of the various stages of the architectural development of the sanctuary. The latest excavations have necessitated the alteration of a good many of the conclusions presented in that book, which, however, will remain as a basic source for any scientific study of the architectural history of the site. The need for a publication which would include all the evidence unearthed in the last decade is being filled by the scheduled publication of a series of studies called *Ἐλευσινιακά* and published by Kourouniotes with the assistance of his collaborators. The first volume of this series

[19] *Praktika,* 1882-1890, 1892-1898, 1902, 1918-1920, 1935-1937. *Ephemeris,* 1886-1890, 1892, 1894-1899, 1901, 1912. *Deltion,* 1930-1931, 1931-1932, 1934-1935.

[20] D. Philios, *Ἐλευσίς* (1905); *Fouilles d'Éleusis* (1889); *Κουρουνιώτης, Ὁδηγὸς Ἐλευσῖνος* (1912); *Eleusis* (1934).

appeared in 1932, and the second volume is now ready for publication.

Noack's work is especially deficient in the study of the beginnings of the Eleusinian sanctuary. His point of departure is very restricted, and his view that the beginnings of that sanctuary should be placed at the start of the Historic Era and perhaps in the eighth century does not seem to agree with the facts as revealed by the excavations of the last decade. Until the final publication of the results of these excavations, it will be impossible to establish definitely the earlier history and life of the sanctuary; however, from the preliminary reports which have appeared thus far,[21] it is possible to attempt to correlate the literary and the archaeological evidence available and to determine more definitely the location of at least some of the most sacred landmarks of Eleusinian topography, which are linked with the beginnings of the Eleusinian rites. This is the purpose of the present study. Of course, this correlation and identification have been attempted before by various scholars,[22] but we believe that the evidence obtained by Kourouniotes and his collaborators in the past ten years makes it necessary to revise the opinions advanced thus far. These more recent findings furnish more definite data upon which to base conclusions which can be construed as more substantial. Our study will revolve around the problems connected with the earliest temple to Demeter, with the wells mentioned in the story of her arrival at Eleusis, with the rock on which she sat, mirthless and fasting, and where later she was destined to be found by the daughters of Keleos. Indeed, it will deal with landmarks around which the whole secret ritual of Eleusis was woven from times immemorial.

The indebtedness of this study to the writings of international scholars will be apparent in the many references to their publi-

[21] Kourouniotes, *Deltion*, XIII (1930-1931), *Parartema*, pp. 17 ff.; XIV (1931-1932), *Parartema*, pp. 1 ff.; XV (1934-1935), 1 ff. "Das Eleusinische Heiligtum von den Anfaengen bis zur vorperikleischen Zeit," *Archiv*, XXXII, 52 ff. Kourouniotes-Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 271 ff. Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XXXVI (1932), 104 ff.; *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), 415 ff.; *Eleusis*.

[22] *Infra*, pp. 29 ff., 65 ff.

cations given in the footnotes; its indebtedness to the work carried out at Eleusis by Kourouniotes will also be apparent in the account which follows. But the long hours of patient work, of inspiring suggestion, and ever-ready advice, which so generously have been given by Dr. Kourouniotes to those who had the privilege of working with him, and which made possible the present study, can hardly be visualized from the pages which follow. In grateful acknowledgment of these efforts and on behalf of his younger collaborators, this study is dedicated to the master. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the members of the Board of Publication of Washington University and its editors for the publication of this monograph. For the reading of the manuscript and for many valuable suggestions and corrections I am grateful to Dr. Frederick William Shipley, Dean Emeritus of the School of Graduate Studies of Washington University, to Miss Alice E. Sellinger and to Miss Annie Louise Carter. The plans were drawn for me by Mr. Robert L. Fisher, a junior in the School of Architecture of the University.

CHAPTER II

THE HOMERIC HYMN TO DEMETER

"Δήμητρ' ἠϋκόμον σεμνὴν θεὰν ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν,
αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον ἣν 'Αϊδωνεύς
ἥρπαξεν . . . . . "

(Homeric hymn, vv. 1-3)

Pausanias, who has faithfully served the archaeologist in his effort to unearth some of the greater centers of the Hellenic world, is of little value to the scholar interested in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. He has, in fact, given us a most valuable account of the monuments which flanked the Sacred Way, and has mentioned even the buildings which stood on the great outer court; but he has stopped his narrative at the most important and interesting point at the gate of the sanctuary, because *"τὰ . . . . . ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν."*[1] His lips were sealed by the strict regulations which the authorities of Eleusis had been able to enforce throughout the ages. Because of these restrictions we find only incidental references to the buildings of the sanctuary in the writings of our ancient authors, and these are very few and inadequate and concern only the structures of the Classical Period.

The story of the rape of Persephone and of the wanderings of Demeter was, of course, a favourite with the literary figures of the ancient world.[2] But the rites of the Goddesses as cele-

[1] I, 38, 7. The order for silence pronounced by the *hierokeryx* has been preserved by Sopater, *Rhet. Gr.*, VIII, p. 118, ll. 24 ff. The incident of Alcibiades and the accusations against Aeschylos will help to illustrate the faithfulness with which the restrictions were observed at Athens in Classical times.

[2] First to be found in Hesiod's *Theogony* (913-914). It is used by Euripides in one of the choral songs in his *Helena* (1301-1368), by Kallimachos in his sixth ode, by Nicander in his *Theriaca* (483-487), by Nonnus, VI (1-168), in the hymn of Philicos [Koerte, *Hermes* (1931), p. 445]. Its popularity with Roman writers is well attested. Ovid gives us two complete narratives in his *Metamorphoses* (385-571) and *Fasti* IV (419-616). [Cf.

brated at Eleusis, presumably developed out of this story, and the temples within which they were held formed a secret which has been kept faithfully. The beginning of these rites, *i. e.*, the introduction of the secret cult of Demeter to Eleusis, is explained at length in the so-called Homeric hymn to Demeter, and the same hymn provides us with the earliest literary traditions relative to the architectural history of the sanctuary. Consequently, the hymn is of paramount importance in any attempt to establish the beginnings of this history.

The hymn apparently contains the accepted traditions current at Eleusis at the time of its composition, and I believe that it could be conceived as the result of the crystallization of these traditions. Scholars have disagreed as to the date of the composition of the hymn, and this because of the uncertainty involved in the evidence available. In their recent edition of the *Homeric Hymns,* Allen, Halliday, and Sikes, after an examination of the archaeological and the internal evidence, conclude that the hymn was composed in the latter half of the seventh century.[3] Humbert, in his edition of the *Hymns,* reaches the same conclusion; that the composition of the hymn to Demeter goes back to the last years of the Eleusinian autonomy, a little before 610 B. C.[4] The authors of both editions follow the conclusions reached by Noack in his discussion of the archaeological evidence that the hymn was composed before the capture of Salamis by the Athenians, which event he placed at 610 B. C.[5] Based on the vocabulary and the style, Willamowitz Möllendorf suggested that the hymn antedated the sixth century.[6] Picard held that it was written about the middle of the sixth century,[7] Fick, the first half of the same century (540-504 B. C.), and Baumeister, the period of the Peisistratids.[8]

Malten, in *Hermes* (1910), pp. 506 ff.] Claudian uses it for his epic poem, *De raptu Proserpinae.* Cf., in general, Foerster, *Der Raub und die Rueckkehr der Persephone* (1874).

[3] *The Homeric Hymns,* pp. 111-114.

[4] *Collection des Universités de France* (1936), pp. 38 ff.

[5] F. Noack, *Eleusis,* pp. 45 ff.

[6] *Gl. Hell.,* II, 47.

[7] *R. E. G.,* XL (1927), 350; *R. Phil.,* IV (1930), 265.

[8] *Homeric Hymns,* p. 114, n. 1.

The internal evidence provided by the hymn is indeed scanty. Allen, Halliday, and Sikes have pointed out that in the hymn there are no references to Iakchos, to Athens and the Athenians, to the splendid procession on the Sacred Way, and to the Kerykes; that the "local colour is markedly Eleusinian"; that Triptolemos and Eumolpos are simple princes like the others without a special mission. "The natural interpretation of all these omissions," they conclude, ". . . is that the hymn was written before the reorganization of the mysteries under Athenian influence."[9] Again Picard has attributed "le silence fait sur les Eumolpides dans l'hymne Homérique" to the kerykes under whose influence the hymn was composed in the sixth century.[10] These omissions, however, could be accounted for in a different manner with equal plausibility. Farnell, some time ago, pointed out that the poet of the hymn is "dealing solely with the remote origins of Eleusinian things" and that he, therefore, is intentionally omitting whatever happened after the establishment of the cult at Eleusis.[11] This suggestion seems to correspond with the facts as known to us. Whether it is the correct answer or not, the fact remains that it minimizes greatly the value of the internal evidence provided by the omissions mentioned. This applies with equal force to the argument drawn from the well-known verse "ὄλβιος ὅς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων" (v. 480). Even if we assumed that the verse implies that the mysteries were open to all the Greeks at the time of the composition of the hymn, we shall still have to prove that this "unrestricted access" was the result of the conquest of Eleusis by Athens, and this is impossible at present.[12]

The linguistic evidence offered by the hymn and that to be derived from the etymology of the names included in its verses are not sufficient to supply a definite date for its composition. The only possible conclusion which can be drawn from this evidence is that "the author wrote in or after the Hesiodic period"[13]

[9] *Homeric Hymns*, pp. 112-113.

[10] *R. Hist.*, CLXVI (1931), 62.

[11] Farnell, III, 154.

[12] *Homeric Hymns*, pp. 113, 161; *R. Phil.*, IV (1930), 257 ff.; *R. Hist.*, CLXVI (1931), 1, n. 1.

[13] *Homeric Hymns*, pp. 110, 124-125.

and this, of course, is too vague to be of any definite help in the solution of our chronological problem.

The archaeological evidence available to date is equally vague and inconclusive. Yet the last editors of the hymn have seen in the remains uncovered at Eleusis evidence strengthening the conclusions which they obtained from the internal evidence provided by the hymn.[14] Naturally they draw their archaeological evidence from Noack's conclusions on the problem which are, in brief, as follows: the earliest artificial terrace on which the Telesterion of Eleusis was constructed dates from the beginning of the eighth century or a little earlier. This terrace was surrounded by walls which insured privacy necessary to a *temenos*, within the limits of which secret rites were held. These rites were performed in the open during the early period of the life of the sanctuary; but, as the number of the initiates was increased, the need for a special building arose, and thus the first Telesterion was constructed just before the archonship of Solon, about 610 B. C., when Eleusis, as well as Salamis, was conquered by the Athenians. In the Homeric hymn is mentioned only the νηὸς built in honour of Demeter. This is believed to have been a building distinct and separate from the Telesterion and that it stood on top of the rocky hill on which the small chapel of Panaghitsa stands today. Since there is no reference to the Telesterion in the Homeric hymn, the natural conclusion reached was that the composition of that hymn must antedate the construction of that building, which is placed at about 610 B. C.[15] This, in turn, agrees with the deductions drawn from the internal evidence provided by the hymn and can be accepted as turning "the balance of probability in favour of the composition of the hymn before the Athenian conquest and in the latter half of the seventh century."[16]

Unfortunately, the results of the latest excavations have proved that the assumptions on which Noack's conclusions were based are against the facts as known to us today. These assumptions were:

[14] *Homeric Hymns*, pp. 111-112, 114. Humbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
[15] Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 11-15, 45-48.
[16] *Homeric Hymns*, p. 114.

1) The nonexistence of Mycenaean remains on the terrace of the Telesterion. This is emphasized by Noack. It is repeated by Allen, Halliday, and Sikes (p. 111) that no Mycenaean objects "occur upon the terrace. There is no trace at Eleusis of a Mycenaean palace or of any building, other than the beehive tomb, which there is any reason to believe was sacred."

2) The theory that the *νηὸς* of Demeter, built at the command of the Goddess herself, and the Telesterion were two separate buildings. For, if we take the Telesterion to be one and the same building with the *νηός*, we shall have to admit that the Telesterion is mentioned in the hymn and then its date of construction could not be used as a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the poem.

Both these assumptions are unfounded. In the course of this study we shall see that the *νηὸς* of the hymn and the Telesterion are one and the same building, and that the excavations conducted within the Telesterion area, especially in the summer of 1932, have brought to light remains antedating those of the so-called "earliest" terrace and going back to the Mycenaean Era, *i. e.*, to the period during which, according to tradition, Demeter arrived at Eleusis.[17] Long before Noack's earliest terrace there seems to have existed in the area occupied by it, not only a terrace, but also a temple to Demeter which was the same as the Telesterion. Consequently, the Telesterion of the seventh century seems to have been built because of the demand created by the increasing numbers of initiates. That increase may have taken place after Eleusis was conquered by Athens, but it is always possible to assume that even before that event, the Eleusinians had thrown open their cult to the rest of the Greeks. Incidentally, we may remark that the only structure which until recently was accepted as Mycenaean, *i. e.*, the so-called "beehive tomb," has been proved by our recent excavations to be a cistern dating from historic times.[18] And so the available archaeological data are subject to the different possible interpretations which characterize the internal evidence and do not offer the definite elements which would make possible a conclusion. There seems

[17] Cf. Kourouniotes-Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 274 ff.

[18] Kourouniotes in *Ἐλευσινιακά*, pp. 251 ff.

to remain one area in the sanctuary, the area marked *Z12* in our Figure 2 and in the plans of Kourouniotes, the complete investigation of which might give us definite chronological limits for the composition of the hymn. But, again, the conclusions based on the results obtainable from that district will depend on the equation we shall propose later of area *Z12* with a definite landmark mentioned in the poem.

From our brief discussion of the internal, linguistic, and archaeological evidence it becomes apparent, we hope, that the date of the composition of the Homeric hymn to Demeter cannot be determined. In spite of this, the fact still remains that it is the oldest literary document preserved, dealing with the beginnings of the cult of Demeter.

The date of the composition of the poem may be uncertain, but the general date of the events pictured in its verses is definite. According to the tradition preserved by Apollodoros[19] "*'Εριχθονίου . . . ἀποθανόντος . . . . . Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ καὶ Διόννσος εἰς τὴν 'Αττικὴν ἦλθον*" and by the records of the Parian Marble, "*Δημήτηρ ἀφικομένη εἰς 'Αθήνας καρπὸν ἐφ [εὗρεν] . . . . ἔτη ΧΗΔΔΔΔΠ<1> βασιλεύοντος 'Αθήνησιν 'Ερεχθέως,*"[20] the cult of Demeter was established at Eleusis in the Mycenaean Era. In the hymn itself (vv. 154 and 475) Eumolpos is mentioned as living at Eleusis when the Goddess arrived there. The Parian Marble places Eumolpos in the reign of Erechtheus, and the prevalent tradition places him at the head of the Eleusinian army in its attack on the Athenians[21] led by Erechtheus, the son of Pandion I and the grandson of Erichthonios. In the battle which followed, Immarados, the son of Eumolpos, was slain by Erechtheus.[22] These traditional and

[19] *Βιβλιοθήκη*, III, 14, 7.

[20] F. Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium* (1904), ll. 23-24.

[21] Cf., especially, Thucydides, II, 15; Isocrates, IV, 68, XII, 193; Lykourgos, *c. Leokr.* 98; Plato, *Menexenos*, p. 239 b., etc. Frazer on I, 38, 3, gives a complete bibliographical note on the problem.

[22] Pausanias, I, 5, 2 and I, 27, 4. Apollodoros, III, 15, 4, states that Eumolpos was slain by Erechtheus. This seems to be a mistake, caused perhaps by the existence on the Akropolis of the bronze group of two fighters confronting each other and representing Eumolpos and Erechtheus. We believe that Frazer is right in maintaining that Eumolpos was the

historic events will place the life of Eumolpos and the coming of the Goddess in the Mycenaean Age, approximately in the thirteenth century.

The composition of the hymn is not contemporary with the events described in its verses. It will, therefore, become necessary to prove that its author was familiar with the aspect of Eleusis and its buildings in Mycenaean times, before we can use his story in any reconstruction of the architectural history of the site. This proof can be obtained from two sources: from the political system pictured in the hymn as existing at Eleusis at the time of the arrival of the Goddess, and from the architectural setting of the narrative.

The political system described in the hymn is typical of the Mycenaean world.[23] Keleos is the "*κοίρανος*" of Eleusis (v. 97), who calls his "*πολυπείρονα λαόν . . εἰς ἀγορήν*" (v. 296) to order "*ἠϋκόμῳ Δημήτερι πίονα νηὸν ποιῆσαι*" (vv. 297-298). He is surrounded by vassal princes,

> "*οἷσιν ἔπεστι μέγα κράτος . . . . . τιμῆς,*
> *δήμου τε προὔχουσιν, ἰδὲ κρήδεμνα πόληος*
> *εἰρύαται βουλῇσι καὶ ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν.*"
>
> (Vv. 150-153)

But he is the "*ἡγήτωρ λαῶν*" (v. 475); they are "*θεμιστοπόλοι βασιλῆες*" (v. 473). Certainly this political system was foreign to the post-Geometric times during which the hymn was composed.

The examination of the architectural setting within which the action unfolds will lead us to the same conclusion.[24] Let us consider, for example, the palace of Keleos in which Demeter found

general of the Eleusinians, but that Immarados, their secondary leader, was killed in battle.

[23] For the latest discussion of this system, cf. Martin P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (1933), pp. 212 ff. Also G. Busolt, "Griechische Staatskunde," *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, I, I (3d ed., 1920), 317 ff. L. Brehier, "La royauté homérique et les origines de l' État en Grèce," *R. Hist.*, LXXXIV (1904), 1 ff. and LXXXV (1904), 1 ff. C. W. Westrup, *Le roi de l'Odyssée et les peuples chez Homère* (1930).

[24] I hope in the near future to publish a full archaeological commentary of the hymn.

refuge. Metaneira, seated in a hall beyond the *αἴθουσα* of the palace, welcomed Demeter (vv. 185-186). Later on, the queen from her *θάλαμος* saw the Goddess placing *Δημοφόωντα* on the fire, apparently of the hearth (v. 244). That the *thalamos* was a different room from the one in which the hearth was standing is indicated by the fact that Keleos, who must have been sleeping in that *thalamos*, was not awakened by the rather noisy events which took place around the hearth that night, but had to be told in the morning (vv. 293-294). The palace, therefore, or rather the unit of the palace in which the drama was staged, is composed of an *αἴθουσα*, a hall which seems to be the same as the room with the hearth, and a *θάλαμος*.

The names given to these various rooms are well known from the *Odyssey*, and the respective functions of the parts to which they are applied are well established in epic poetry. The term *αἴθουσα*, for example, is applied to a portico in front of the *δόμος*. The beds of Telemachos, the son of Odysseus, and of Peisistratos, the son of Nestor, were placed "*ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ*" and the two heroes slept in that part of the palace of Menelaos which is further defined as being "*ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου*." Odysseus slept in the *αἴθουσα* of the palace of the Phaeacians, while Alcinoos "*λέκτο μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο.*" Telemachos also slept in the *αἴθουσα* of the palace of Nestor.[25] In the hymn itself the same position of the *αἴθουσα* is indicated, since the daughters of Keleos "*βὰν . . . . . δι' αἰθούσης ἔνθα σφίσι πότνια μήτηρ ἧστο*" (v. 185). Metaneira must have waited for the old woman in the main room where strangers were usually received. It may be suggested that the *αἴθουσα* of Keleos was the place where Demeter slept during her stay with the family of the king, since it is evident from the above passages that this section of the palace's main unit was turned over to honoured guests.

Metaneira received the Goddess beyond the *αἴθουσα* and at a point indicated by a well-known formula in epic poetry "*παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο*" (v. 186). The word *σταθμὸς* has caused a good deal of difficulty to philologists. In the *Odyssey* it is commonly found in connection with the appearance of Penel-

[25] *Odyssey*, *δ*, 297-302; *η*, 336-346; *γ*, 399.

ope in the hall of her palace.[26] Usually it is taken to signify the doorpost, but the possibility has also been conceded that it may indicate one of a group of columns supporting the roof of a hall.[27] In the Homeric hymn it must be conceived as signifying one of the columns since the Goddess herself stood "*ἐπ' οὐδόν*" and "*πλῆσεν . . . . . θύρας σέλαος θείοιο*" (vv. 188-189). The queen, therefore, sat in a chamber which could be reached only through the portico, and this room with its columns could only have been the main room of the unit. The main room in epic poetry is known as the "*δόμος*" which is usually entered through a portico placed in front of it. Telemachos takes Athena, in the guise of Mentes, into the "*δόμος*" and entertains her there. In the "*δόμος,*" the suitors are feasting and the "*δόμοι*" of Alcinoos "*πλῆντο . . . . ἀνδρῶν ἀγρομένων.*"[28] It is evident then that Metaneira received the Goddess in the *δόμος* of her palace. This hall with its stately columns is the same as that in which the great hearth was located, because we read in verse 280 that when the Goddess revealed herself the room with the hearth "*αὐγῆς . . . . ἐπλήσθη . . . . ἀστεροπῆς ὥς*"; and this room is called "*πυκινὸς δόμος.*"

Metaneira "*θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο*" follows the action of the Goddess in the *δόμος*. This *θάλαμος* is identical with the bedrooms mentioned in the *Odyssey* to which heroes, belonging to the palace, not guests, retire at night. And the word *θυώδεος* repeats the adjective used in the *Odyssey* and in the description of Helen's room in the palace of Menelaos.[29] The hymn does not mention any other rooms where the slaves were stationed, nor does it state clearly whether the daughters of the king were sleeping in separate *θάλαμοι* or in the *δόμος* when the Goddess revealed herself to Metaneira. But certainly such rooms must have existed, especially for the slaves, and the parts mentioned in the hymn apparently formed the important unit of the palace.

[26] *Odyssey*, *α*, 333; *π*, 415; *σ*, 209; *φ*, 64. Cf. Jebb in *J. H. S.*, VII, 170 ff. Appendix, pp. 175 ff.

[27] Cf., for example, the verse telling of the appearance of Nausicaa in *θ*, 458.

[28] *Odyssey*, *α*, 126, 144; *θ*, 57-58.

[29] *Odyssey*, *δ*, 121.

And this unit in the hymn is called specifically a megaron; Demeter, after giving her orders to Metaneira, "*βῆ δὲ διὲκ μεγάρων . . .*" (v. 281).

The way in which the three parts of the megaron of Keleos were interrelated is not specified further than that one had to go through the *αἴθουσα* to get into the *δόμος*. The position of the *θάλαμος* remains uncertain. However, this information could be obtained from the descriptions scattered throughout in the poems of the *Odyssey*. The palaces of Menelaos and of Alcinoos are less complicated than that of Odysseus, because the latter had to be spread out to facilitate the various phases of the plot. Therefore, they lend themselves more readily to comparison with our simple palace. Furthermore, in the palaces of the king of Sparta and of the ruler of the Phaeacians the action unfolds itself in a single architectural unit, similar to that which existed at Eleusis, and composed of the same three parts. The interrelation of these parts in the palaces of the *Odyssey* is well established and the position of the *θάλαμος* is well defined. In the palace of Menelaos we have the *θάλαμος* of Helen which she must have shared with her husband, since when the son of Atreus retired near him, "'*Ελένη τανύπεπλος ἐλέξατο, δῖα γυναικῶν.*" The part of the palace where Menelaos *καθεῦδε* was "*μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο.*" That it was a room is proved by the statement that Menelaos the next morning "*βῆ . . . ἴμεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο.*" Alcinoos and Arete also slept "*ἐν μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο,*"[30] and, although no mention of a *θάλαμος* is made in their case, on the evidence of the passage describing the location of the room of Menelaos, we may also assume that their beds were in a room beyond the end of their hall. We may assume, too, that the *θάλαμος* of Metaneira was also "*ἐν μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο.*" The arrangement of the three parts in the megaron of the palace of Menelaos is very clear. First came the *αἴθουσα*, the "*πρόδομος δόμου*"; then the *δόμος* with its columns and hearth where the feasting, etc., took place; and then the *θάλαμος* beyond the end of the *δόμος*. The three parts followed each other in a long axis (Fig. 1a). This arrangement, of course, agrees with the evi-

[30] *Odyssey*, *δ*, 304-305, 310; *η*, 346-347.

dence furnished by the remains of Mycenaean palaces of the mainland type.

It is natural to maintain that the three parts of the megaron of the palace of Keleos were arranged in the same way, and that they corresponded in arrangement, as well as in name and function, with the same parts of the megara described in the *Odyssey*. And this suggestion is strengthened by the archaeological evidence uncovered at the site of Eleusis itself. In the course of the excavations conducted on the southwestern slope of the Eleusinian hill and on its northeastern end, remains of Mycenaean houses were uncovered belonging to the Late Helladic I, II, and III Periods. These, in a general way, belong to the period or to the years immediately preceding the period in the course of which Demeter is reported to have visited Eleusis. The remains of what Kourouniotes has called an "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*" have been uncovered beyond the southern door of the precinct and these date from the post-Geometric Period, perhaps from the late years of the eighth century, *i. e.*, from the period nearest to the date of the composition of the hymn. The plan of the houses of the Late Helladic I Period is definite.[31] Those dwellings are composed of an open portico, a main room which one could enter only through the portico which fronted it, and a smaller room placed at the rear of the main room (Fig. 1b). If we wanted to apply the Homeric names to these parts we could very well call them *αἴθουσα, δόμος,* and *θάλαμος,* respectively. A glance at the plans illustrated in Figure 1 will prove the similarity in plan existing between the megara described in the *Odyssey* and in the Homeric hymn and the Late Helladic I houses uncovered at Eleusis. The foundations of the houses belonging to the Late Helladic II Period are not so well preserved as to yield a complete plan of the dwellings of the period. But the existence of a portico and also of a small rear chamber in the houses of that and of the later period are proved by the foundations uncovered on the northeastern end of the Eleusinian akropolis, in the district of the chapel of Panaghitsa.[32]

[31] Mylonas, *Eleusis,* pp. 29-36 and Figs. 15-19.

[32] Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," pp. 419 ff. and Fig. 6. Perhaps the small rear compartment of building "*A*" enclosed between the walls "*Κα*" *α'* *α*"' was such a small bedroom.

Figure 1. a) The Homeric Megaron. b) Eleusinian house of the Late Helladic I Period. c) The "*Ἱερὰ Οἰκία.*"

The post-Geometric remains of the "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*" have not been fully published, but the important details for our purpose have been given by Kourouniotes in his guidebook.[33] There is no doubt that the function of the structure is religious, but, as its name implies, its plan and construction are those of a private dwelling, and the structure can be taken to illustrate the house plans of its period. The constituent rooms of this edifice, three in number, are built next to each other and face a common passage which in turn opens into a court (Fig. 1c). The passage affords the only connection between the rooms. It should be noticed that the principle followed in the arrangement of these rooms is entirely different from that followed by the Mycenaean builders. The rooms are placed next to each other. Access to them is obtained by different doors opening into a common passage, instead of an open portico and connecting doors as was the case in the older buildings. It is interesting to note that this principle, followed in the construction of the "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*," is kept in operation in the Classical Period. To it, perhaps, is due the arrangement so characteristic of the houses at Olynthos of a number of rooms facing the *pastas*,[34] a passage which opens into the court. If this principle was still active in determining the plan of the

[33] Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, p. 50 and general plan (lower left-hand, side section entitled ***IEPA OIKIA)***. From this general plan the drawing of Fig. 1c has been copied.

[34] *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, 161 ff. Cf. also Mylonas, "The Olynthian House of the Classical Period" in *C. J.*, XXXV (1940), 389 ff., Figs. 1 and 2, and Robinson, "Haus" *Paully-Wissowa Supplementband*, VII, 223 ff. The foundations of the Archaic buildings, *C* and *D*, which have been recently excavated and described by Dr. Homer A. Thompson in the Tholos district of the Athenian Agora, seem to have been built on the same architectural principle as that employed in the construction of the "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*." The rooms are separated from each other by solid walls and possess doors opening to a common court [cf. Homer A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors* (1940), 8 ff. and Fig. 13]. Building *C*, the earliest of the two, "will take us back to the time of Solon or to the years immediately after his reforms" (Thompson, p. 44)—in other words, to the time when, according to some of our authorities, the Homeric hymn was composed. Even the principal rooms of the later building *F*, of an edifice with a special function, "would seem to have opened directly on the courtyard, each through its own door" (Thompson, p. 15).

dwellings in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, it must have been kept in operation after the eighth century and during the period when the hymn was composed. The "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*," therefore, could be accepted as illustrating the house plans of the period during which the so-called Homeric hymn was composed.

In which of these two types of houses belonging to two different periods, possessing varying ground plans, and laid out on different architectural principles does the author unfold his drama? It is apparent that he does not have in mind nor does he portray the dwellings of his period or the period which immediately preceded his, but rather those of the remote Mycenaean Age. For a person in any part of one of the rooms of the post-Geometric house could not see what was happening in any of the other rooms. This was done by Metaneira who, "*νύκτ' ἐπιτηρήσασα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο σκέψατο*" the Goddess in the act of placing the child on the fire. The agreement of the architectural indications provided by the hymn with the prehistoric remains uncovered at Eleusis is such that it is not impossible to maintain that its author knew the mythical palace of Keleos, not only from tradition, but also from its actual remains which might have existed on the hill in his time. This leads us to the conclusion that our author has intentionally excluded from his narrative any newer elements which had been added to the material culture of Eleusis since the reported arrival of the Goddess, and allows us to maintain that the important elements and details forming the body of the poem represent the actual and well-remembered appearance of the sanctuary area at the initial stage of its architectural history. The evidence offered by the hymn can, therefore, be depended upon and can be used without hesitation for establishing conclusions relative to the topographical and architectural problems connected with the beginnings of the sanctuary.

Who the author of the hymn was remains unknown, but it seems to me that Allen, Halliday, and Sikes are right in their conclusion that he was an Eleusinian.[35] At any rate, it can be accepted as a fact that he knew well the official traditions of

[35] *Homeric Hymns*, p. 126.

Eleusis and its topography. His topographic indications, therefore, form an important source of information for the reconstruction of the architectural history of Eleusis, and are indispensable in any attempt to identify the important landmarks of the sanctuary area in its initial stage of development. A mere review of the well-known contents of the hymn will bring forth these topographic indications.

According to the hymn, Demeter, in the guise of an old woman, arrived at Eleusis and,

> *"ἕζετο . . . . . ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ*
> *Παρθενίῳ φρέατι, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται*
> *ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης."*
> (Vv. 98 ff.)

There she was found by the daughters of Keleos, who were on their way to draw water from the well and to them the Goddess, wishing to conceal her identity, told a fictitious story. She gave her name as *Δωσώ*, and invented the story of her adventures with pirates who had carried her *"Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης"* (v. 123) and from whom she ran away when they reached Thorikos. From that village and direction *"οὕτω δεῦρ' ἱκόμην ἀλαλημένη"* (v. 133). She closed her story by offering her services to any who might have a need for them. Thereupon, the daughters of Keleos ran back to the palace, secured the permission of their mother Metaneira to bring the stranger home, and rushed back to Demeter whom they found

> *"ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ . . . ἔνθα πάρος περ κάλλιπον"* (v. 179).

The Goddess was welcomed to the palace by Metaneira and, at her request, she undertook to care for Demophoon, the youngest child of the family. Provoked by the queen, a little later, she revealed herself, *"εἰμὶ . . . . . Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος"* (v. 268), and ordered the Eleusinians to build for her *"νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμόν"* (v. 270) on a rocky eminence below the walls of the citadel and above the Kallichoron. In it she remained until her daughter Persephone was returned to her. After the reunion of mother and daughter, and in fulfillment of her promise (vv. 273-274), Demeter instructed the leaders of the Eleusinians in

the performance of her rites, the secret character of which she herself imposed:

"τὰ τ οὔ πως ἔστι παρεξ[ίμ]εν [οὔτε πυθέσθαι,]
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν."
(Vv. 478-479)

And, when all these things had come to pass, Demeter, δῖα θεάων, returned to the assembly of the Gods on the top of Mount Olympos.

The topographic elements contained in the passages of the poem quoted above deal with, 1) the Parthenion well, 2) the Kallichoron well, 3) the temple of Demeter with its altar, and 4) the citadel of Eleusis and its fortification walls. All these structures and landmarks must have existed at Eleusis during the first and earliest stage of the history of the cult, *i. e.*, in the Mycenaean Age. Ever since Philios began his excavations of the sanctuary area, scholars have naturally advanced suggestions and theories proposing this or that identification of these structures and landmarks. These scholars, however, were not entirely successful in their efforts, chiefly because their work was handicapped by the paucity of the Mycenaean remains which had been discovered at the site up to the year 1930. The excavations carried out at Eleusis since then have brought to light, as we have seen, abundant remains of the Mycenaean Period, and these have changed our earlier views relative to the beginnings of the Eleusinian sanctuary. Is it possible to recognize in these remains any of the elements mentioned in the hymn? We believe that this is possible, and to this end will be devoted the chapters which follow.

Before we proceed in our quest, however, it will be advisable to consider briefly any additional literary sources dating from an older or from the same period as our hymn and dealing with the same subject-matter. These literary sources are necessarily limited to very ancient hymns written in hexameter and belonging to the class which is known as rhapsodic.[36] Pausanias, who perhaps is our chief source for the earlier Greek hymnographers,

[36] Hesiod's reference to his recitation of a hymn in honour of the departed Amphidamos (''Εργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, vv. 656 ff.) is the earliest known instance of the recital of a hymn.

mentions five such poets: Mousaeos, Orpheus, Homer, Pamphos, and Olen. Of these the first four have composed hymns in honour of Demeter. Olen, the Lykian, author of the oldest Greek hymns,[37]

> *"ὅς ἐγένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας*
> *πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτάνατ' ἀοιδάν,"*[38]

was the author of a number of hymns dealing chiefly with the worship of Apollo at Delos and also at Delphi.[39] His verses, therefore, even if they were preserved, could not have been of use in our quest. Of the hymns composed by Orpheus, we know only that they were very short but that *"κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροιντο ἄν μετά γε Ὁμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐκείνων ἥκουσι."*[40] Even in the days of Pausanias the authenticity of the verses attributed to Orpheus was considered doubtful.[41] It seems certain, however, as much as certainty is possible in such matters, that the story of Demeter formed the subject of some of his hymns, and we may understand by inference that these were sung at Eleusis and at the performance of the mysteries.[42] Unfortunately, the hymns attributed to Orpheus have not survived, and the date and authorship of the verses we have in the *Orphica* are doubtful.[43]

Of the hymns and verses which in antiquity were attributed to Mousaeos,[44] only a hymn to Demeter, composed for the Lyko-

[37] Pausanias, IX, 27, 2.

[38] According to the poetess Boeo quoted by Pausanias, X, 5, 8.

[39] Herodotos, IV, 35 *"οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ."* He composed for the Delians a hymn to Eilithyia (Pausanias, I, 18, 5; VIII, 21, 3; IX, 27, 2), a hymn to Hera (Pausanias, II, 13, 3), and one to Achaeia (Pausanias, V, 7, 8). The last hymn apparently had nothing to do with Demeter Achaia (but see Farnell, III, 71 ff.), since the heroine of the hymn arrives at Delos from the Hyperboreans. Cf. also Suidas, *s. v. Ὠλὴν.*

[40] Pausanias, IX, 30, 12.

[41] Pausanias, I, 14, 3.

[42] Pausanias, IX, 27, 2; X, 7, 2. Cf. also Diodoros, III, 62, 8; I, 12, 4.

[43] Ed., Kern. For the relation of the verses collected in the *Orphica* to the presumably older hymns attributed to Orpheus and his immediate successors, cf. Dieterich, *De hymnis Orphicis* (1891).

[44] Pausanias, X, 5, 6; I, 22, 7. Cf. Herodotos, VII, 6, and Kinkel, *Epic. graec. fragg.*, p. 218.

midae, was considered genuine by Pausanias and this has been lost.[45] Homer is also mentioned as a writer of hymns and apparently he was considered by Pausanias to be the author of the so-called Homeric hymn which has survived. However, besides this Homeric hymn no other pertinent verses by the poet of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey* have survived. The last poet of any interest to our quest is Pamphos, who "*'Αθηναίοις τῶν ὕμνων ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους*," flourished before Homer but after Olen, and from whose poems "Sapho learned the name of Oetolinos." For the same family of the Lykomidae, Pamphos composed a hymn to Demeter which apparently was preserved at the time of Pausanias and the authenticity of which, unlike that of the poems and verses attributed to Orpheus and Mousaeos, was never disputed and was accepted by the "periegetes."[46] Unfortunately, Pamphos' hymn is also lost and we only have a single short reference to its contents in Pausanias' description of the Eleusinian territory.[47] We shall have occasion to return to this reference as it is the only passage of topographical value, besides the Homeric hymn itself, which has been preserved from the writings of the old Greek hymnographers.

Perhaps we should include in our account the rhapsode Kynaethos, to whom is attributed the Homeric hymn to Apollo. According to the Sicilian chronicler, Hippostratos, the poet, "*πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐρραψῴδησε τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἑξακο-*

[45] Pausanias, I, 22, 7: "*ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις*" (also IV, 1, 5).

[46] Pausanias, VIII, 37, 9; IX, 27, 2; IX, 29, 8. It seems that he composed a hymn to the Graces (Pausanias, IX, 35, 4) and to Zeus (Philostratos, *Heroic.*, 693-301). Pausanias in IX, 27, 2, states that Pamphos was also the author of a hymn to Eros. This statement conflicts with that made by Plato, *Symposium*, 177 b, "that no poet had written hymns or poems to Eros" and apparently Pausanias was mistaken in that matter. The only hymn which can be attributed to Pamphos with certainty is that composed in honour of Demeter for the Lykomidae and which is perhaps included in the *'Αττικοὶ ὕμνοι* mentioned by Pollux, X, 162. Hesychios explains the *παμφίδες* as *γυναῖκες 'Αθήνησιν ἀπὸ Πάμφου τὸ γένος ἔχουσαι* and perhaps they were privileged to sing the hymns composed by this author.

[47] Pausanias, I, 39, 1.

στὴν ἐννάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα."[48] It is generally agreed, however, that the date has been wrongly copied and that the poet lived in the eighth century.[49] He and his followers were charged with the interpolation of many verses in the poems of Homer, yet only one hymn was attributed to Kynaethos, the hymn to Apollo, which is not pertinent to our quest. Of course, short ritual hymns in hexameter and also in melic form continued to be written in classical and later times and to be used in different cult centers and perhaps at Eleusis itself; but their late date would make their contribution to our problem doubtful, even if they had survived.[50]

Our brief survey of the literary sources pertinent to our problem, we believe, has made apparent the importance of the so-called Homeric hymn to the study of the beginnings of the Eleusinian sanctuary.

[48] Scholium Pindar, *Nem.* II, init.

[49] *Homeric Hymns,* pp. 184, lxxvii.

[50] For an excellent account of these hymnographers, cf. *Homeric Hymns,* pp. lxxxiii ff.

CHAPTER III

THE *ΝΗΟΣ* OF THE GODDESS

". . . . ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ
τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος
Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ
ὄργια δ' αὐτὴ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι ὡς ἄν ἔπειτα
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἱλάσκοισθε."

(Homeric hymn, vv. 270-274)

Epic poetry, which for the time being is our earliest literary source for the Greek world, is of little help to the solution of the problem concerning the appearance of the Greek temple in the Hellenic world. A few references to such temples are, indeed, scattered in the poems of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*, but the verses in which the temples of Athena and of Apollo are mentioned have been considered generally as of a later date and have been placed under the brand of interpolation.[1] The archaeological evidence obtained from the excavation of prehistoric sites alone furnished the necessary support to this verdict, for until recently not a single temple has been uncovered, although small chapels and sanctuaries have been found incorporated in palace complexes both in Crete and on the Mainland.[2] In the hymn to Demeter, however, a temple detached and separate from the palace is described—a temple which, in the opinion of our authorities, possessed the elements characterizing the temples of the Historic Period. So characteristic it was assumed to be that it has been maintained that it was a different structure from the Telesterion because the latter possesses elements foreign to the

[1] *Iliad*, Z, 297; B, 546-551; E, 446; H, 83. *Odyssey*, λ, 322-324.

[2] Crete: Knossos; Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, 335 ff. especially, Mallia; *B. C. H.*, XLVIII (1924), 494 ff. Asine: Froedin-Persson, *Asine*, pp. 74 ff. and 298 ff.; Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, pp. xxi-xxii, Pls. III and IV. The sanctuary at Gournia forms the only exception, as it is built by itself at some distance from the palace structure (cf. *Gournia*, plan Pl. I). The peak sanctuaries, of course, do not enter into our discussion.

Greek temple of historic times. The Homeric hymn is later in date than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, yet it deals with events older than the Trojan War and its author has drawn its setting entirely from the remote period in which the events did take place. The temple is part of that setting and its existence in Mycenaean times is definitely indicated by the tradition behind it. Fortunately, we can now state that its existence is proved by the archaeological evidence obtained at the site in the last decade. The existence of this temple at Eleusis may also imply the possibility of the existence of such temples in other parts of the Hellenic world in prehistoric times, and, consequently, it indicates the fallacy of the assumptions based upon the mention of such temples in the Homeric verses.

The existence of a temple to Demeter at Eleusis in Mycenaean times can be definitely adduced from the hymn, but its relation to the Telesterion, to the Hall of Initiation, where the mysteries were celebrated, has remained uncertain. As early as 1883, one year after Philios began excavating the Telesterion, the theory was advanced by Blavette that the temple of Demeter was a different building from the Telesterion.[3] This theory was revived and placed on more substantial grounds by Rubensohn in 1892, and has been advocated lately by Noack.[4] In the very year of its appearance Blavette's hypothesis was attacked successfully by Philios, who maintained that the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion were one and the same building.[5] Philios' position found favour with a number of scholars, and is shared by those who actually worked in uncovering the sanctuary area of Eleusis.

The theory of the "separatists"—Blavette, Rubensohn, and Noack—imposed upon them the task of finding in the sanctuary area the remains of a separate temple which could be attributed to Demeter. Blavette believed that the foundations which existed in his time on top of the rocky spur on which today stands the small chapel of Panaghitsa were those of the famous temple

[3] *B. C. H.*, VIII (1884), 254 ff. Cf. Foucart, *Éleusis*, p. 349, and Picard, *R. Hist.*, CLXVI (1931), 22.

[4] *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrake*, pp. 44 ff. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 45 ff.

[5] *Praktika* (1883), p. 56, n. 2.

(Fig. 2, *P1* and *L10*). Philios, however, even then proved that these foundations belonged to a Roman building and could have nothing to do with the legendary edifice. With great reserve Rubensohn suggested that the temple of Demeter stood near the northwestern corner of the Telesterion on the area sunk into the side of the hill, from which the rock was cut away for this purpose. To the few stones remaining in that area he gave the name of "Temple F" (Fig. 2, F). The weakness of this suggestion lies in the fact that the construction of that terrace cannot be dated with certainty, and the supposed temple built over it cannot be assigned to a period earlier than that of Peisistratos, and that can only be done with a stretch of the imagination. Yet the temple of Demeter was constructed in Mycenaean times.

Noack, in reviving Rubensohn's views, tried to eliminate these difficulties by advancing a new hypothesis which has found wide acceptance. According to Noack, the first and legendary temple to Demeter was constructed on the southern end of the rocky spur of Panaghitsa, over the same area approximately in which the "Temple F" of Rubensohn was later constructed. This original temple was destroyed when its successor the "Temple F" was built, presumably in Peisistrateian days. The "Temple F" also has disappeared and no remains of it have survived *in situ,* other than places for its foundations cut deeply into the rock and fragmentary foundations indicating the existence there of a building, perhaps a temple, in Roman times. A few architectural fragments dating from Peisistrateian times and found scattered throughout the sanctuary area were also assumed to have belonged to this temple. In this way the difficulties created by the lack of any remains of an early temple were surmounted, and the conclusion was reached that the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion were two separate and distinct buildings.

This conclusion rests on two elements which we may be allowed to call assumptions: 1) the existence of a very primitive temple on the rock of Panaghitsa which has disappeared since; 2) the Peisistrateian date of the construction of the so-called "Temple F." Neither of these assumptions was proved definitely. On the contrary, the excavations conducted at Eleusis in the last ten years have proved that the hypothesis advanced by Blavette and championed by the later scholars is not correct and

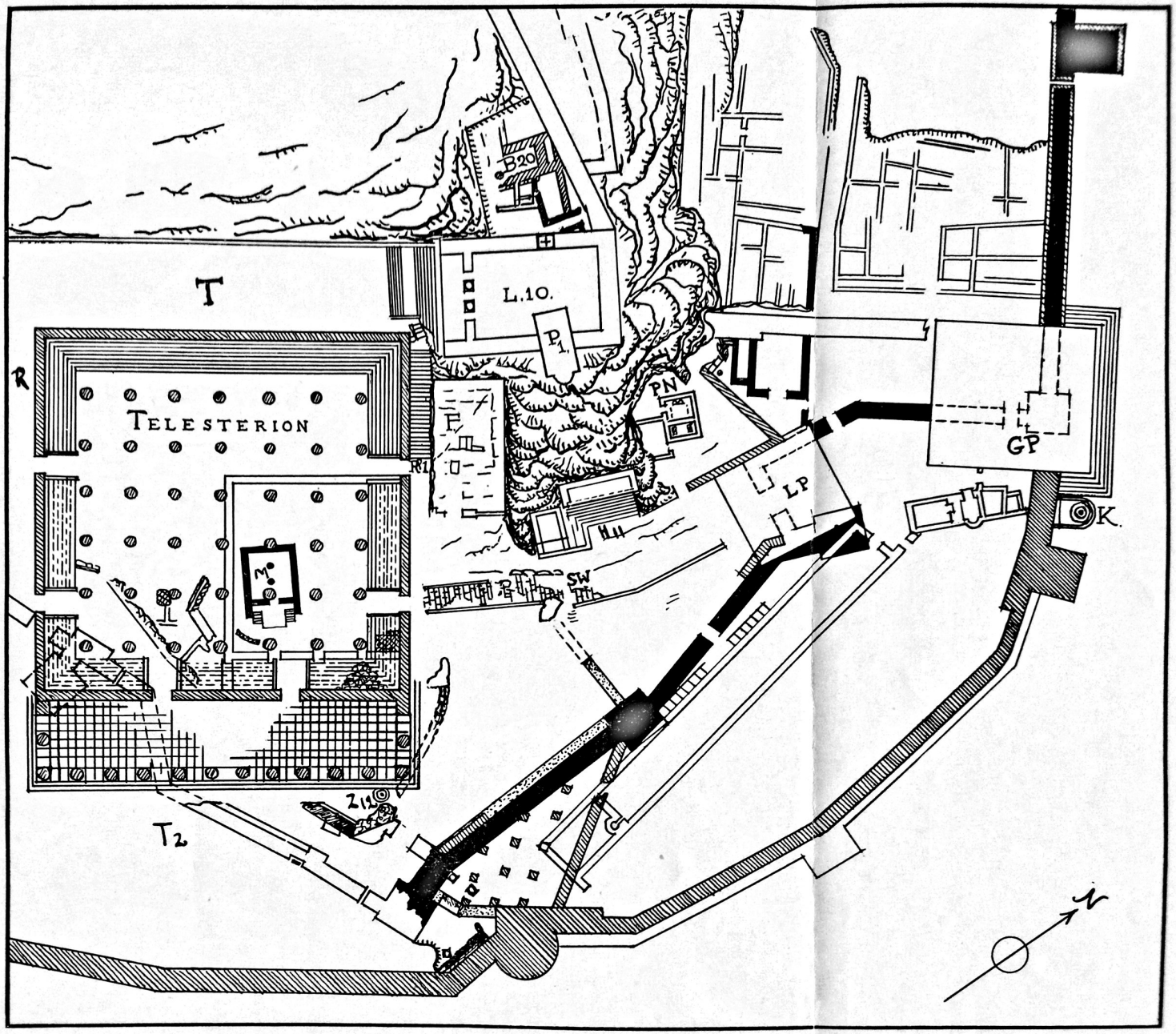

Figure 2. The Sanctuary area of Eleusis. K, the Kallichoron; GP, the Greater Propylaea; LP, the Lesser Propylaea; PN, the Ploutonion; *H11*, rock-cut platform and the area of the "Mirthless Stone"; SW, the Sacred Way; F, the "Temple F"; *P1*, the Chapel of Panaghitsa; *L10*, Roman building on spur; *B20*, Prehistoric remains on the Akropolis; T, Terrace above the Telesterion; *R1*, Northern Stairway; *R*, Southern Stairway; M, the Megaron; *T2*, Terrace in front of main eastern façade of the Telesterion; *Z12*, the Kallichoron of the Homeric hymn.

that Noack's conclusions are based on assumptions which have been proved wrong. However, before we examine the archaeological evidence now available, we must turn to the Homeric hymn and discuss briefly the pertinent elements provided by its verses.

The Goddess orders the Eleusinians to construct a temple for her in the following well-known words:

> "*. . . ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ*
> *τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος*
> *Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ.*"
> (Vv. 270-272)

In other words, the temple with its altar was to be built "*ὑπαὶ πόλιν*" and its "*αἰπὺ τεῖχος*" on a "*προὔχων κολωνός*," "*Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν*," and not next to the palace or within its area in the common Minoan and, perhaps, Mycenaean fashion. That it was constructed in accordance with these specifications is indicated by verses 296-299 which tell that Keleos

> "*εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας πολυπείρονα λαὸν*
> *ἤνωγ' ἠϋκόμῳ Δημήτερι πίονα νηόν*
> *ποιῆσαι καὶ βωμὸν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ.*"

The position of the temple could be determined with some degree of accuracy if the *αἰπὺ τεῖχος* and its line could be ascertained. In accordance with the Mycenaean practice, this wall must have surrounded the higher terrace of the Eleusinian hill on which the palace of the ruler and the palaces of his officials must have stood. The efforts of Philios and of Skias to locate the legendary prehistoric buildings on the top of the akropolis failed, and resulted only in the uncovering of unimportant remnants of structures belonging to the Roman period of the occupation of the sanctuary area.[6] Their failure to find prehistoric remains on the hill led scholars to adopt the view that "the alleged Mycenaean palace at Eleusis does not exist."[7] This, in turn, cast doubt on the existence of the *αἰπὺ τεῖχος*, the topographic significance of which thus was eliminated. Philios indeed maintained that if a fortification wall were placed around the top of the hill it

[6] *Praktika* (1889), p. 24; (1892), p. 32; (1894), pp. 15 ff.
[7] *Homeric Hymns*, p. 124, n. 1.

would leave no room for a temple to be constructed on the rocky ledge of Panaghitsa,[8] on the area which was chosen for it by Blavette. But his logical argument was disregarded because he had failed to find on the hill any evidence which would indicate that such a wall had existed in Mycenaean times. Consequently, Noack, after Blavette, placed the early and first temple of Demeter on that same spur of rock.

The situation, however, has changed a good deal since the appearance of the monumental book of Noack. Indications of the existence of prehistoric remains on the top of the hill were obtained during the excavation of the prehistoric settlements on its south slope in 1930 and 1931. These led to a systematic exploration of the akropolis of Eleusis in 1932, 1933, and in 1934, which was instrumental in revealing on its northeastern end and near the terrace of Panaghitsa, an undisturbed area crowded with prehistoric remains which belonged to the Middle and the Late Helladic Periods (Fig. 2, *B20*).[9] By a stroke of good fortune this same area proved to be of paramount importance to the solution of our problem. The Late Helladic or Mycenaean remains of this section unfortunately are preserved in a very fragmentary condition which will make difficult, if not impossible, any successful effort in establishing the ground plans of the buildings to which they belong, but they certainly prove the existence of dwellings in that part of the hill. That the dwellings extended towards the edge of the rocky spur of Panaghitsa is evident from our plan (Fig. 2, *B20*). The construction of the Roman building *L10,* for which the rock was leveled, and of the chapel *P1,* of course, brought about the destruction of the prehistoric buildings which spread beyond the undisturbed area *B20,* and the existence of which is indicated by the discovery of pottery in pockets in which the original filling was preserved. No remains of a fortification wall have been found thus far.

The new discoveries make possible the following considerations. The remains uncovered on the Panaghitsa terrace belong to dwellings which in Mycenaean times must have formed part of the citadel of Eleusis. The hymn tells us that the citadel was

[8] *J. I. d' A. N.* (1904), pp. 11 ff.
[9] Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," pp. 415-431.

surrounded by an "*αἰπὺ τεῖχος*" and this arrangement is in agreement with the Mycenaean way of city construction. There is no reason to assume that the regular practice was not followed at Eleusis by its Mycenaean builders, and now, when we have the proof of the existence of dwellings on the top of its hill, we have to accept the existence of a fortification wall protecting them; and this wall is specifically mentioned in the hymn. It is generally believed that the author of the hymn was familiar with Eleusinian topography and knew its remains, and we have seen that he has succeeded in giving an actual Mycenaean setting to his story.[10] It is possible to maintain that the remains of the fortification wall of Eleusis still existed in his time, especially since the great disturbance of the area adjacent to the Panaghitsa spur, due to building activities, did not take place, at the earliest,[11] before the fifth century B. C. It is further possible to maintain that his information corresponded with the reality. This fortification wall must have surrounded the citadel of Eleusis and, consequently, must have stood beyond the remains uncovered in the area of the Panaghitsa. It could not have been built around the foot of the Eleusinian hill, on the line of the walls of the Peisistrateian and of the later periods, because then no projecting knoll would have been left beyond its circuit.[12] That such a rocky ledge was left is proved by the

[10] *Supra*, pp. 15, 22. When in our text we speak of the Goddess and of her commands to the Eleusinians, we do not, of course, mean to suggest that the visit actually did take place, nor that the words attributed to her were actually uttered. The visit was legendary and the words of the Goddess are voicing well-preserved traditions and were introduced to account for the buildings and relics existing at Eleusis.

[11] The earliest remains uncovered in the area *B20* and the Panaghitsa spur belong to the fourth century (cf. Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," p. 415). Kourouniotes and Travlos, p. 66, have suggested that this Mycenaean wall perhaps served as the west member of the precinct wall which separated the Telesterion area from the rest of the city and which was later replaced by the Perikleian and Lykourgian "*διατείχισμα*." It may have been destroyed when the quarrying of this side of the hill began for the construction of the Perikleian Telesterion.

[12] The site is flat beyond the line of these walls towards the sea or the Thriasian plain. If we place the fortification wall in the line of the Peisistrateian, then the spur of the Panaghitsa will be left within the fortified

words of the Goddess who ordered her temple to be built below the wall, but on a "προὔχων κολωνός." The only conceivable position for a fortification wall is that determined by the rocky spur of Panaghitsa and then its line will be determined by the remains surviving there.[13] If we place the wall beyond the remains uncovered and, following our evidence and the Mycenaean practice of using the contour of the ground to be surrounded, we build a thick fortification wall around the Panaghitsa area, no room will be left on that area for the building of a "νηὸς μέγας" and of a "βωμὸς ὑπ' αὐτῷ." The assumption, therefore, that the first temple of Demeter was built on the spur of Panaghitsa is proved untenable by the results of our excavation.

This conclusion was briefly stated in my report on the excavations carried out at Eleusis in 1934. In my discussion of the remains of the Late Helladic III houses unearthed, I then suggested the possibility of their being part of a palace of the rulers and princes of Eleusis, and added, "the identification must remain only a suggestion . . . . . What can be proved, however, and what perhaps is more important is the fact that the Late Helladic remains extend to the edge of the hill, where the small chapel now stands. That part of the hill is now proved to have been covered with buildings which left no room for the construction of monumental buildings in that section of the akropolis. The theory, therefore, of the existence of an earlier temple to Demeter in that section, distinct and separate from the Telesterion, can no longer be advanced."[14]

The second assumption of Noack, that the so-called "Temple F" was built in Peisistrateian times, has also been proved wrong by the work of Kourouniotes and Travlos. Without going very deeply into the matter, we may here outline briefly the evidence so masterfully presented by the Greek scholars in their recent

area, and this arrangement will not permit the placing of the temple of Demeter on that spur.

[13] It is perhaps instructive to note that the Mediaeval fortification wall which surrounded the akropolis of Eleusis in later times was built on that line and perhaps over the Mycenaean remains (cf. Kourouniotes-Travlos, p. 62, n. 1).

[14] Mylonas, "Eleusiniaka," p. 426.

publication.[15] To the south of structure *F*, and between it and the Telesterion of the Classical and the later periods, there exists the stairway *R1* (Figs. 2 and 3), leading from the end of the Sacred Way to a terrace *T* cut in the rock overlooking the Telesterion proper. This stairway was assumed by Ruben-

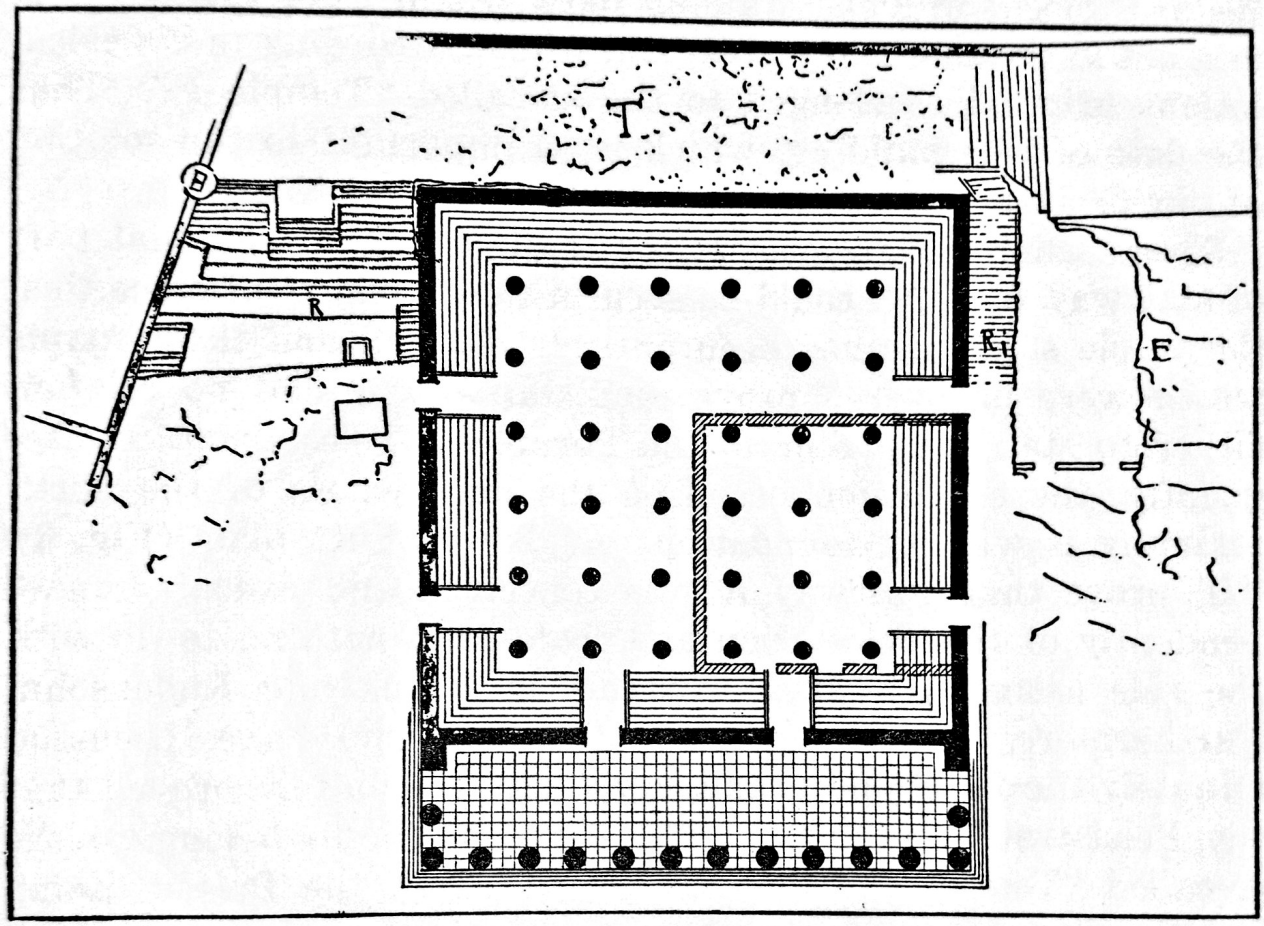

Figure 3. The Telesterion with stairways *R1* and *R* and "Temple F."

sohn to form part of the building planned and erected in the period of Perikles and was made as a pendant to another stairway, *R*, existing along the south side of the Perikleian Telesterion. The second stairway *R* is wider than the first, *R1*, and this was attributed, originally by Rubensohn and then by Noack, to the existence of the so-called "Temple F" at the time of the construction of the Perikleian Telesterion. The stairway *R1* could not be made wider to correspond to its sister stairway *R*, but had to be accommodated in the space left between the existing "Temple F" and the north wall of the new Telesterion which was to be constructed. This peculiarity would indicate, there-

[15] Kourouniotes-Travlos, pp. 72 ff.

fore, that the so-called "Temple F" antedates the Perikleian Telesterion and, since in Peisistrateian days a great building activity was experienced at Eleusis, it seemed possible to assume that the so-called "Temple F" was constructed in those days. This was further indicated, according to Noack, by a few architectural blocks of Peisistrateian date, which were found not *in situ* but in the sanctuary area, and which, according to his calculations originally belonged to the so-called "Temple F." Thus the date of this building, which is so important to the solution of our problem, was figured by Rubensohn and Noack.

These scholars, however, based their arguments on that part of stairway *R* which could be seen in their time. But since then the whole structure has been entirely cleared, and the remains which were uncovered prove that stairway *R* had no relation either to stairway *R1* or to the Perikleian Telesterion. Consequently, the conclusion based on the narrowness of the north stairway is without foundation. A glance at its plan (Fig. 3) will prove that stairway *R* was conceived and executed independently of the Telesterion and could have nothing to do with the rôle assigned to its north end by Noack and Rubensohn. Furthermore, Kourouniotes and Travlos, who have discussed minutely the function of stairway *R*, have definitely proved that the Peisistrateian blocks, assumed by Noack to belong to the so-called "Temple F," actually do belong to the Peisistrateian Telesterion. Consequently, there is no evidence whatever which could even suggest an early date for the construction of that edifice. As a matter of fact, all the evidence obtained from its filling at the time of its excavation first by Philios and then by Kourouniotes seems to indicate that the so-called "Temple F" was constructed in Roman Imperial times. A detailed examination of its remains has led me to believe that it was in Roman times that its terrace was cut, that its walls were erected, and that it formed part of the same building activities which resulted in the erection of building *L10* on the top of the Panaghitsa spur.

The conclusion which naturally is derived from our discussion is apparent. Before we accept the hypothesis of Blavette, Rubensohn, and Noack, that the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion are two different buildings, we have to find the remains, Myce-

naean or pre-Perikleian, of the assumed temple of Demeter. The recent investigations, which have cleared the sanctuary area to its rock level, prove definitely that there exist in the area of the sanctuary of Eleusis no remains of buildings belonging to a period antedating the composition of the hymn, which could be conceived as belonging to a temple of Demeter, and which would be different from the remains of the Telesterion. Furthermore, they prove that no temple could have existed at any time before the Perikleian Era on the Panaghitsa spur, in the area on which the temple is arbitrarily placed. On the other hand, the existence of the temple in Mycenaean times, or at least in the time of the composition of the hymn, is proved by the hymn itself, and the existence of remains of a religious building for the rites of Demeter, which was called a Telesterion in historic times, is proved by the remains uncovered. These facts and considerations lead us to the only possible conclusion suggested by Philios long ago and repeated by Kourouniotes lately—that the "*μέγας νηός*" of the hymn and the "Telesterion" of Eleusis were one and the same building.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason forcing us to accept the existence at Eleusis of a temple dedicated to Demeter separate and distinct from the Telesterion. No ancient source—author or inscription—has preserved even a word which would suggest the existence of such a temple. Strabo's statement "'*Ελευσὶς πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς 'Ελευσινίας καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκός, ὃν κατεσκεύασεν 'Ικτῖνος ὄχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον,*"[16] which has been used as proving the existence of a temple (*σηκός*) separate from the Telesterion (*ἱερόν*)[17] certainly does not justify such a conclusion. '*Ιερὸν* could be the same as *τέμενος*—the holy precinct, within which was the *σηκός*, the temple of the Goddess. Rubensohn, after a fresh study of the evidence, has reached the specific conclusion that at Eleusis "*ἱερὸν* ist immer das Gesamtheiligtum niemals das Telesterion."[18]

[16] IX, 1, 12.

[17] Blavette, *B. C. H.*, VIII (1884), 254 ff. Philios, *Praktika* (1883), p. 56, n. 2, successfully has rejected Blavette's interpretation.

[18] *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII (1933), 321, n. 2.

Against the equation of the νηὸς with the Telesterion have been advanced at times certain objections, no longer justifiable, which have misled a good many scholars. These objections are: 1) the lack of early remains at the site of the Telesterion going back to the age indicated by the hymn; 2) the square plan of the Telesterion with its many columns, which is entirely different from that of the regular Greek temple; 3) the Telesterion presented no possibility for exhibiting properly a cult statue; and 4) the location of the Telesterion in relation to the Καλλίχορον φρέαρ. It seems that the editors of the *Homeric Hymns*, Allen, Halliday, and Sikes, further object to such an equation because "the revelation of the mysteries is to follow the building of a temple devoted to the cult of Demeter, and Demeter is already in occupation of her νηὸς before the institution of the *orgia*."[19] This could not be considered as a serious objection even though it is stated in the hymn that the Goddess κιοῦσα (from her temple)

"θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι δεῖξε . . . . . .
δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν . . . . . ." (Vv. 473-476)

because there is nothing to prove that these *orgia* could not be celebrated in the temple of Demeter and under the supervision of her cult statue, and that they differed from the cult of the Goddess to which her temple was "devoted." We may now turn our attention to the discussion of the four objections which are still current.

Objection No. 1. The assumed lack of early remains at the site of the Telesterion has often been used as a proof for the existence of a separate temple to Demeter. When Noack published his monumental book and his conclusions on Eleusis, on which are based the conclusions of practically all scholars who have dealt with the Eleusinian problem, the earliest known terraced precinct dated from the Late Geometric Period and the earliest known built Telesterion belonged to the Archaic Period. In the excavations, however, which we conducted from 1930 to 1932 below the floor level of that Telesterion, we uncovered earlier remains belonging to the Geometric, Late Helladic, and

[19] *Homeric Hymns*, p. 162. Cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 46.

Middle Helladic Periods.[20] The most important of these form part of buildings constructed in Mycenaean times and must be attributed to the same general period to which belong the buildings mentioned in the Homeric hymn. We, therefore, now have remains of very early buildings in the Telesterion area which prove that the first objection is unjustified.

Objection No. 2. The square plan of the Telesteria of the Classical and later periods and their architectural aspect, which reminds one of the "Hypostyle Halls," are commonly taken as decisive evidence in favour of the existence of a separate temple. Certainly these Telesteria differed from the type of the regular Greek temple, but the use to which they were put differed from that common to the temple. Again, the fact has been overlooked that the earliest Telesterion known to us before 1930 dated from the Archaic Period and that the cult of Demeter was introduced to Eleusis, in accordance with the tradition, in Mycenaean times. Where did the initiates hold their rites during the long centuries which followed the visit of the Goddess? Noack will have us believe that the rites were held in the open, out of doors, and perhaps, at the beginning, in the area of the Ploutonion (Fig. 2, PN).[21] But Noack departs from the assumption that the mysteries were introduced at Eleusis in the eighth century.[22] Their limited scope and influence at the beginning of their existence would justify their celebration out-of-doors for a short time, even for the century which separates their assumed introduction and the construction of the Archaic Telesterion. However, Noack's basic assumption on the date of the introduction of the rites has to be proved before we can accept any of the conclusions which he has based upon it. This has not been done, and his assumption is, in fact, contrary to all the traditional evidence on the matter. The Homeric hymn definitely places the introduction of the rites in the lifetime of Eumolpos and the period of Erechtheus, and the same period is indicated by the *Marmor*

[20] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 274 ff. and Figs. 4-8. Kourouniotes, *Archiv*, XXXII, 52 ff. Most of the area was dug before 1932 and during the early excavations of Philios, and to this can be attributed the dearth of removable remains which characterized our work.

[21] Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 14.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 218.

Parium.[23] Herodotos has preserved the tradition that the Ionians transplanted the cult of Demeter to the southwestern coast of Asia Minor when they colonized that district, and this colonization began long before the eighth century. We hear more specifically that Philistos, one of the followers of Neleus, the founder of Miletos, built a temple of Demeter Eleusinia on Mount Mycale;[24] and yet Miletos was colonized by the Ionians about the middle of the eleventh century.[25] Androclos, the son of Kodros, founder of Ephesos, introduced into Ionia the "*ἱερὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος*,"[26] and this occurred about 1045 B. C. Aristotle clearly states that the *Ἐλευσίνια*, the most ancient of all the ceremonies of Greece, were founded when Pandion governed Athens, and this takes us back to about 1300 B. C.[27] Certainly all these traditions assign the beginnings of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis to a period antedating by three, four, or five centuries the dates suggested by Noack. Are we to believe that the cult was held out-of-doors for so many centuries? Is it not equally probable that some time after its introduction, even a long while —a century or two—a building was provided for the rites? And if a building were provided for the purpose, one that must necessarily antedate the Archaic Telesterion by centuries, the plan of that "hall of initiation" has to be established before we can place any weight on *Objection No. 2.*

The discussion thus far has proved, we believe, that the ground on which this objection is founded is not solid, but has given us no other basis on which we can build, and certainly we cannot pretend to have reached a solution, if that solution is based only on suppositions, even if the latter are derived from traditional evidence. This basis has been definitely obtained and established by the recent excavations at Eleusis. It is well-known that the Telesteria of historic times were built on a sharp slope, badly suited to the erection of large buildings, a situation which necessitated the construction of large artificial terraces. The continu-

[23] *Supra*, p. 14.

[24] IX, 97.

[25] Miletos, of course, existed even before that date, *s. v.* Miletos in Pauly-Wissowa, XV, 2, col. 1586. Pausanias, VII, 2, 5.

[26] Strabo, XIV, 1, 3.

[27] Frag. 637 (ed. V. Rose).

ous use of such an undesirable site for generations was certainly imposed upon the builders by the sanctity of the area brought about by a very long observance of an ancient cult. When the large Archaic Telesterion and the Late Geometric terraced precinct were constructed on the slope, the area was already sacred; otherwise, a better site would have been chosen at that time when construction on a large scale was undertaken. Indeed, Noack has suggested that the site of the original cult of the mysteries was in the area around the Ploutonion (Fig. 2, PN), and that it was transferred from there to the southeastern slope in the Telesterion district at a time when the cult had become very popular. If that were true, why was not a more level area chosen for the purpose, a site which would not give rise to the difficulties and the problems which the southeastern slope offered from the very beginning to projects such as the construction of the Late Geometric terraced precinct? Such level areas were available at a short distance from the Ploutonion, as a matter of fact, at a distance much shorter than that which separates it from the Telesterion district. People would put up with these difficulties, which were present on the southeastern slope at the time of the Late Geometric project, only if the site was a sacred one, sanctified by the original cult or by its earlier phases. To this should be added that up to the present time nothing, not even a single sherd, has been found in the Ploutonion area to give support to Noack's hypothesis, and, as far as it is known, the earliest use of that area does not go beyond the Late Archaic Period; and yet the Late Geometric precinct discussed by Noack antedates that use by one century at least. The topography of the site and the successive constructions of imposing buildings over the same area would lead one to the conclusion that the sanctity of the area was responsible for its choice as the proper place for the construction of the halls of initiation from the very beginning of the Historic Period.

Below the floor level of the Archaic Telesterion, on the same space over which that and the later Telesteria were constructed, the remains of a round or an elliptical edifice were uncovered in 1932.[28] The building belongs to the late years of the Geometric

[28] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 274. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, pp. 45 ff. and *Archiv*, pp. 63 ff.

Period, as proved by the pottery found with it, and, according to Kourouniotes, stood on the terrace supported by the retaining walls which are known to belong to the Late Geometric terraced precinct. The minute study of the foundations of this elliptical building proves that they were constructed in the same manner in which the terrace walls were constructed, while the pottery associated with it and the walls prove their contemporaneity. These considerations seem to establish Kourouniotes' conclusion. The stepped entrance to the terrace was also uncovered, and near it the remains of a sacrificial pyre which had been partially excavated by Philios. This pyre, of course, proves the sacred character of the structures existing on the terrace supported by the Late Geometric retaining walls. Yet the shape of that structure is not square or even rectangular, but elliptical at best; in other words, this sacred building of the Late Geometric Period differs in plan from the later Telesteria. But this elliptical building is the earliest historic Telesterion, and it is nearer to the date of the establishment of the cult of the mysteries at Eleusis than any of the Telesteria with the square plan.

Below the floor level of the Late Geometric building and precinct, foundations belonging to prehistoric buildings have been uncovered. The pottery found with them will place them in the Middle Helladic and in the Late Helladic II and III Periods. No remains which could be attributed to the Late Helladic I Period were found, and it can be concluded that no such remains ever existed there since the area was cleared to its rock level. That such a phase in the life of the site existed at Eleusis, as well as in other places, is proved by the discovery of extensive Late Helladic I remains in the area to the south of the present Museum.[29] The lack of the Late Helladic I remains in the Telesterion district proves that, after the end of the Middle Helladic Period, that district remained unoccupied for some time, perhaps for one or more centuries. Then a building was constructed in the area over which the later Telesteria were built. It is surrounded by a thick precinct wall, and it exhibits very interesting special details. It was used for a long time; later, in Late Helladic III and in the closing years of the Prehistoric Era, it was aug-

[29] *A. J. A.*, XXXVI (1932), 108 ff., 114.

mented by the addition of other members (rooms *Γ*, *Γ*1, and *Γ*2, Fig. 4b), and it seems that it remained in use even in Geometric times.[30] We have seen that in Late Geometric times there existed definitely a religious building on the area, fragmentary remains of which have survived. We have seen too that it was constructed there, in spite of the bad slope, because of the sanctity of the area brought about by its use as a cult center in periods which preceded the Late Geometric years. Now we find a building in that sacred area the latest members of which were still in use in the period immediately preceding the Late Geometric building, in a period, *i. e.*, when the area was sacred. It follows that the building which preceded the Late Geometric edifice must have been used for the same cult, the practices of which continued to take place on the area in later years, and that the prehistoric buildings served the cult which sanctified the area. The Late Helladic II building with its precinct wall must be the first building known to us in which the mysteries were held; in other words, the first Telesterion. The plan of that building is not square, but oblong—that of a typical Mycenaean megaron.

The recent archaeological discoveries, briefly outlined above, prove definitely that the second objection (against the equation of the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion), based on the square plan of the later Telesteria, is without a foundation. For the first and earliest Mycenaean Telesterion has a different plan; it is an oblong megaron. The second Telesterion from the Late Geometric Period has an elliptical plan. It is possible now, at least, to doubt the traditional theory of the square plan of the Archaic Telesterion which has been taken for granted. Of this Archaic building only a small part, its southeastern corner, has survived, and this cannot definitely establish its shape. Furthermore, in his latest excavations, Kourouniotes has uncovered more blocks *in situ* belonging to this building, and these seem to indicate that even the Archaic Telesterion had a long and narrow ground plan, different from the square plan given to it and from the plan of the Peisistrateian and the later Telesteria.[31]

Our literary evidence on the matter, limited as it is, is also

[30] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 277, 285.

[31] Kourouniotes, *Deltion*, XIV (1931-1932); *Parartema*, p. 7.

definite and convincing and agrees entirely with the results obtained from the study of the remains of the sanctuary. The Telesterion which was constructed in Peisistrateian times has a more or less square plan, a good many columns, and a "*προστῷον*." In spite of its shape and its dissimilarity to the regular type of the Greek temple, and although it was definitely used for the celebration of the mysteries, the officials of Eleusis refer to it as the "temple." In the well-known inscription recording the "*λογοδοσίαν ἐπιστατῶν*" for the year 408/7, it is stated

"*ἀπὸ τõ νεὸ καθειρεμένα*
κεράμο ζεύγε: XIHHIF."

All scholars agree that the "*νεός*" of this passage is the Peisistrateian Telesterion.[32]

In the decree of 421/20 for the *Rheitoi* we read:
"*τὸν Ῥετὸν τὸμ παρὰ τὸ [ἄ] στεος γεφυρõσαι λίθοις χρομέ [ν] ον ἐκ τõ νεὸ τõ ἀρχαίο,* hος *ἔλιπον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἀναλίσκοντες.*" Again, it is universally agreed that the "*νεός*" of this inscription is the Peisistrateian Telesterion.[33]

If the Eleusinian officials of the second half of the fifth century called that Telesterion, in spite of its square plan, its columns and its *προστῷον*, a "*νεός*," how can we maintain that the Telesterion, because of its square plan and many columns, could not have been called a "*νηός*" by the composer of the hymn?

The Perikleian Telesterion has a square plan and a great number of columns, and yet it also was equated with the temple of Demeter by the ancients as can be adduced from the "'*Ικέτιδες*" of Euripides. The first act of that drama is staged in front of the temple of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. Aethra, the mother of Theseus, ruler of Athens, was "*ὑπὲρ χθονὸς ἀρότου προθύουσα,*" when, at the insistent prayers of the mothers of the heroes slain at Thebes, she sent a herald to Athens:

"*δεῦρο Θησέα καλῶν,*
ὡς ἢ τὸ τούτων λυπρὸν ἐξέλῃ χθονός
ἤ τάσδ' ἀνάγκας ἱκεσίους λύσῃ θεούς
ὅσιόν τι δράσας." (Vv. 37-40)

[32] *I. G.*, I², 313, col. II, l. 103.
[33] *I. G.*, I², 81, ll. 5-9.

Awaiting the arrival of Theseus, she stays "*πρὸς ἁγναῖς ἐσχάραις δυοῖν θεαῖν*" (v. 33), while the miserable mothers and the chorus continue their pleas and wail in unison. It should be noted that Aethra and the chorus are in front of the *σηκός* of the Goddesses and by the two altars which are in front of it;[34] that Aethra came to Eleusis to offer sacrifices and prayers and not to be initiated into the mysteries, and that she would naturally go to the temple of the Goddesses.[35] Consequently, although the building in front of which Aethra and the chorus stay awaiting the arrival of Theseus is not called the "*νηός*," still this is implied from the content of the drama, and in this scholars universally agree. It should also be remembered that Euripides knows Eleusis and that the movements of his characters and the setting in which they move must correspond to the actual topography of the site, especially since the audience was so familiar with that site.[36]

Theseus, coming from Athens, follows the Sacred Way and enters the precinct naturally through the north gate[37] (Fig. 2, LP). As soon as he enters, he hears the wailing of the chorus and asks in surprise

[34] That the Goddesses had one temple and not two separate temples, as was advanced by Svoronos [*J. I. d' A. N.*, IV (1901), 348 ff.] and accepted by Pringsheim (*Beiträge zur Gesch. d. eleusin. Kultes*, p. 107, 5), was proved by Philios [*J. I. d' A. N.* (1904), pp. 11 ff.] and is generally accepted by scholars.

[35] Apparently she was celebrating the *προηρόσια*. Cf. Farnell, III, 42. Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.* (1933), p. 322, has lately pointed out again that the Telesterion is often called "*σηκός*" and "*μυστικός σηκός*" (cf. Strabo, IX, 1, 12).

[36] That Euripides is exact in his topographic indications is proved by his description of the battle between the armies of Theseus and of Kreon before the wall of Thebes. [Cf. Keramopoullos in *Θηβαϊκά*, *Deltion*, III (1917), 457; Gregoire, *Ἱκέτιδες*, *Collection des universités de France*, comment on vv. 126-129.] The topographic indications of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi contained in his "*Ιων* (vv. 725-751) are also proved correct.

[37] The old Peisistrateian gateway, turned towards Athens, naturally was in use during the period when the *Ἱκέτιδες* were presented. Its remains are still to be seen below the Smaller Propylaea. Cf. Kourouniotes' latest plans published in *Deltion* for 1934-1935; *Parartema* after p. 48 (*Βόρειος πυλών*) our Fig. 2, LP.

"τίνων γόων ἤκουσα καὶ στέρνων κτύπον
νεκρῶν τε θρήνους, τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων ἄπο
ἠχοῦς ἰούσης; ὡς φόβος μ' ἀναπτεροῖ
μή μοί τι μήτηρ, ἣν μεταστείχω ποδί
χρονίαν ἀποῦσαν ἐκ δόμων, ἔχῃ νέον." (Vv. 88-92)

It becomes certain from this statement that, when Theseus enters, he cannot see what is happening in front of the temple; he hears the wailing coming from the direction of the *ἀνάκτορον*, and he is afraid that something disastrous may have befallen his mother.[38]

As he proceeds on his way—on the Sacred Way to the interior of the precinct—the picture of Aethra, the bereaved mothers of the heroes, the Argive chorus, unfolds *suddenly* before his surprised eyes, and (v. 92) *"ἔα, τί χρῆμα"* he exclaims in bewilderment,

"καινὰς εἰσβολὰς ὁρῶ λόγων
μητέρα γεραιὰν βωμίαν ἐφημένην
ξένας θ' ὁμοῦ γυναῖκας." (Vv. 92-94)

If we try now to stage this scene at Eleusis, we shall find that only the terrace in front of the main or east façade of the Telesterion would meet all the requirements, a fact which has been pointed out by Kourouniotes and Travlos.[39] If we follow Noack, and believe that the "Temple F" was that of Demeter, we shall have to place before its eastern façade the two altars, and beyond them the chorus. In so doing we shall place them well into the Sacred Way and, consequently, in full view of anyone

[38] We may note the word *ἀνάκτορον*, which is very often applied to the Telesterion, although it is also used to indicate a temple. Cf. Weber, "Eleusinisches," *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil. N. F.*, LXXX, p. 70, Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.* (1933), p. 322. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 87 ff. Plutarch, *Perikles*, 13, specifically calls the Telesterion or part of it by that name: *Τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν. . . . . τὸ δὲ ὀπαῖον τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε.* Foucart, *Éleusis*, p. 406. Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 159. It should be noted that Plutarch's statement as to the contribution of Koroebos to the construction of the Perikleian Telesterion has been verified recently by an inscription discovered at Eleusis and published by Kourouniotes in *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, 173 ff.

[39] *Op. cit.*, pp. 105 ff.

who enters the precinct through the north or Athenian gate (Fig. 2, LP) and who has obtained a view of "*τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων*." This, of course, would be contrary to the arrangement which Euripides had in mind.

It could be suggested, as indeed it has been suggested by Svoronos, that the altars of the Goddesses were not directly in front of the "Temple F," but were placed at a short distance from its north side and on the stepped platform *H11* (Fig. 2) cut in the slope of the hill a little to the south of the entrance to the Ploutonion (Fig. 2, PN).[40] It could be assumed that on top of this stepped platform the scene was staged, and then the actors and the members of the chorus would be invisible to one standing at the north gateway. This assumption, however, will leave unexplained Theseus' "*τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων*," which seems to indicate that the hero was in full view of the temple as soon as he entered the precinct through the north gate. A person entering through that gate does not have a full view of "Temple F," and when he has advanced so much as to have a full view of that temple, then he will also be in full view of the stepped platform. But, aside from this, the suggestion certainly is contrary to the existing evidence. For our text speaks of the existence of at least two altars in front of the temple, and the existence of two altars next to each other is further proved from various inscriptions.[41] On the platform there is but one hollow place which, even if taken as forming the base of the altar, would indicate the existence of only one such altar. Furthermore, a person standing on top of the platform does not have a full view of the entrance to "Temple F," and this is indicated by Theseus' remark regarding Adrastos who was lying in front of the portals

[40] *J. I. d' A. N.* (1901), pp. 350 ff.

[41] *Ἱκέτιδες*, v. 33. The inscription of Koroebos, published by Kourouniotes in *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, pp. 176 and 179, ll. 16-17: *ἄρχεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν] ὀμόσαντας με | ταξὺ τοῖν βομοῖν Ἐλευσῖνι* proves not only the existence of two altars but also their proximity to each other, since the official could take the oath standing between these two altars and holding his hands over them. Cf. Kourouniotes-Travlos, p. 101; *I. G.*, II², 1672, l. 141; *καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τοῖν θεινοῖν;* l. 225: *θυσ[ίαν ἑκ]ατέραιν τοῖν θεοῖν. I. G.*, I², 76, ll. 36-37: *θύεν . . . . . τοῖν θεοῖν* hεκατέρα.

and who could be seen by a person standing near the altars.[42] Consequently, the stepped platform *H11* cannot be conceived as the place where the altars of the Goddesses stood and as the place where Euripides' scene was staged.

If we now place the altars of the Goddesses and our chorus in the only place in the precinct which remains as a possibility, *i. e.*, on the terrace in front of the eastern or main façade of the Telesterion (Fig. 2, *T2*), then our setting coincides with that indicated by the text.[43] A person entering the precinct through the door to Athens—the north gate (Fig. 2, LP)—would follow the Sacred Way (Fig. 2, SW), which keeps rising in level as one proceeds towards the Telesterion. At first the north doors of the Telesterion and its north side are exposed to view, while the northeastern corner of the building and the high wall retaining the terrace in front of the eastern façade of that building will block the view of the altars and of everything else on that terrace.[44] These will be suddenly exposed to the view of the visitor who has ascended to the top of the road at a distance from the north gate. This is exactly what happened to Theseus, and the evidence preserved in our drama definitely proves that the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion were considered as one and the same building in the days of Euripides.

Which Telesterion Euripides had in mind can also be determined. Kourouniotes and Travlos believe that Euripides had in mind the Peisistrateian structure which was destroyed by the Persians perhaps in 479 B. C.[45] I believe that the building which we call Perikleian served as a background to the scene, because the Peisistrateian building had a "*προστῷον*" in front of its eastern façade. The Perikleian at the time of the presentation

[42] *Ἱκέτιδες*, v. 104.

[43] Philios in his later studies, *J. I. d' A. N.* (1904), p. 37, placed the altar of Demeter and Kore in front of the eastern façade of the Telesterion (cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 85, 5, 168).

[44] The verses *τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων ἄπο | ἠχοῦς ἰούσης* (88-89), certainly indicate that Theseus was in view of the temple of Demeter as soon as he entered, but that he could not see the chorus and the actors. This will only agree with the position of the Telesterion with its north, but not main façade towards the Lesser Propylaea.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

of the drama, whether this is placed at 421 or a little earlier,[46] had no such portico. The text seems to indicate that the temple of Demeter of the drama had no portico, because Adrastos, who is in front of that temple, is not sitting in its portico but at its doors. Theseus asks his mother (v. 104), "*τίς . . . . . ὁ στενάζων οἰκτρὸν ἐν πύλαις ὅδε.*" The Perikleian Telesterion, therefore, was considered by Euripides and his contemporaries as the temple of Demeter. And we may repeat that if the Athenians accepted the Perikleian Telesterion as the temple of Demeter in spite of its unusual form, it would be absurd to bring the square plan of that structure as an argument against the equation of the Telesterion with the Homeric *νηός*. We have already seen, however, that the earlier Telesteria did not exhibit a square plan, but one which is typical of temples of the Geometric[47] and earlier periods. It follows from all this investigation that the second objection to our equation is not justified by our literary and archaeological evidence.

Objection No. 3. It has been maintained that the Telesterion, in the form of a hypostyle hall, was not suitable for exhibiting properly a cult statue which was always to be found in a temple. Here again, we have to determine what the ancients meant by the word "*νηός*." If they meant a religious building in which a cult statue was sheltered, then a statue of the Goddess or

[46] For the date of the presentation of the drama, cf. the latest account by Gregoire, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 ff. It seems that work in the Perikleian Telesterion was being carried on even after 420 B. C. (cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 198 ff.). But this work must have been of minor importance and the building must have stood in its complete form at the time when the *Ἱκέτιδες* were presented, since the decree ordering its construction proves definitely that this construction began before 440 B. C., perhaps about 443 B. C. The decree was published recently by Kourouniotes in *Ἐλευσινιακά*, I, 173 ff.

[47] That the elliptical plan was not unusual in Geometric and even later times is proved by the remains of the temple of Apollo at Thermos [cf. Rhomaeos in *Deltion*, I (1915), 244 ff.]. This plan continued to be in use even in the Archaic Period [cf. the temple of Athena at Gonnoi discussed by Arvanitopoulos in *Praktika* (1910), p. 241; (1911), pp. 286, 315]. Buschor has very ingeniously explained certain cuttings on the rock of the Akropolis and below the Parthenon as caused by the construction of a horseshoe-shaped temple which had only one pediment [*Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII (1922), 98].

statues of the Goddesses were sheltered and exhibited in the Peisistrateian Telesterion, in spite of its poor qualities for exhibiting properly, since that edifice is specifically called a "*νεός*" in the fifth-century inscriptions quoted above. The same will be true for the Perikleian Telesterion if our discussion of the pertinent passages of the "'*Ικέτιδες*" has proved, as we believe it has, that the temple of the Goddesses and the Telesterion were one and the same building.

In connection with the cult statues of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, Kourouniotes and Travlos rightly have pointed out[48] that they do not seem to have been of any monumental importance, since no reference to them is preserved. A large new Telesterion was being constructed at Eleusis at the time when Pheidias and his pupils were active in Attica and when the making of cult statues of a monumental quality had reached its zenith. If such statues were made for Eleusis, certainly they would have been mentioned in our inscriptions along with the other building details recorded there or in one or the other of our authors dealing with the work of the sculptors of the period. But, since they are not mentioned, it could be assumed that they were small ancient images which could be kept in a central small partitioned section of the Telesterion, to which perhaps the name "*ἀνάκτορον*" was applied.[49] The altars in front of the Telesterion

[48] *Op. cit.*, pp. 111 ff. That cult statues of the Goddesses were sheltered in her temple at Eleusis is indicated also by the inscription of Koroebos mentioned above. Line 12 reads: . . . *ἐπεστάτον τõι νεõι καὶ τõι ἀγάλματι.* Kern, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII (1892), 125 ff., has successfully demonstrated the nature and appearance of the cult statues of the Goddesses.

[49] That the *ἀνάκτορον* was in the Telesterion was definitely shown by Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 159 (Cf. *supra*, n. 38). Noack further maintained (pp. 156-167, 226), that the *ἀνάκτορον* was at the center of the Telesterion; that it comprised the area between the six central columns, and was separated from the rest of the interior by means of curtains. Kourouniotes has definitely proved that the curtain arrangement suggested by Noack is untenable by means of an inscription in which the walls of the *ἀνάκτορον* are mentioned: *πρὸς τῶι τοίχωι τοῦ ἀνακτόρου* [*Deltion*, X (1926), 145 ff.]. The fact, however, remains that the *ἀνάκτορον* was closely connected with the Telesterion and formed part of it. Kourouniotes and Travlos (*op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 1), seem to suggest that traces of the *ἀνάκτορον* are still to be seen within the Telesterion in spite of Deubner's assertion (*Att. Feste*, p. 87) that no traces of it have survived.

could have served the needs of the worshippers as they seem to have served the needs of Aethra.

To these appropriate remarks of Kourouniotes and of Travlos we may add that the cult statues of Demeter and Persephone may not have been treated the same way as those of the other Gods due to the peculiar nature of their ritual. We hear, for example, that at Hermione no one but four priestesses was allowed to see the statue of the Goddess kept in the temple of Demeter *χθονία*. *"Αὐτὸ δέ (τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος) ὃ σέβουσιν ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ τἆλλα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ εἶδον, οὐμὴν οὐδὲ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος οὔτε ξένος οὔτε Ἑρμιονέων αὐτῶν· μόναι δὲ ὁποῖόν τί ἐστιν αἱ γρᾶες ἵστωσαν,"* says Pausanias.[50] Again we read that the temple of Demeter and Kore on the Acrocorinth *"οὐ φανερὰ ἔχουσι τὰ ἀγάλματα."*[51] In view of the above it seems that *Objection No. 3* raised against the Telesterion, namely, that it was not suitable for exhibiting properly a cult statue, is unjustified, because we have to prove first that there was a proper way of exhibiting these statues in special temples like those dedicated to Demeter at Eleusis, at Hermione, and elsewhere.

Objection No. 4. The relative position of the Kallichoron to the Telesterion has often been used as an argument in favour of the existence of a separate temple to Demeter. The hymn tells us that the *"νηός"* of Demeter was *"Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν."* The well which has been uncovered at the northeastern corner of the greater Propylaea of Eleusis[52] is usually identified as the Kallichoron (Fig. 2, GP and K). If that is the Kallichoron of the hymn, neither the assumed building on the spur of the Panaghitsa nor the Telesterion could be conceived as the temple of Demeter mentioned by the hymn, for neither is *"καθύπερθεν"* of that well. As a matter of fact, no *"προὔχων κολωνός"* ever existed *"καθύπερθεν"* the well which we call Kallichoron today, on which a temple could have been built. And, if we are not to take our evidence literally, but are to make allowances to favour one view, we may legitimately expect to make allowances in

[50] II, 35, 8.

[51] Pausanias, II, 4, 7.

[52] Philios, *Praktika* (1892), pp. 33 ff. Noack, *Eleusis*, pp. 73 ff. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, pp. 31 ff.

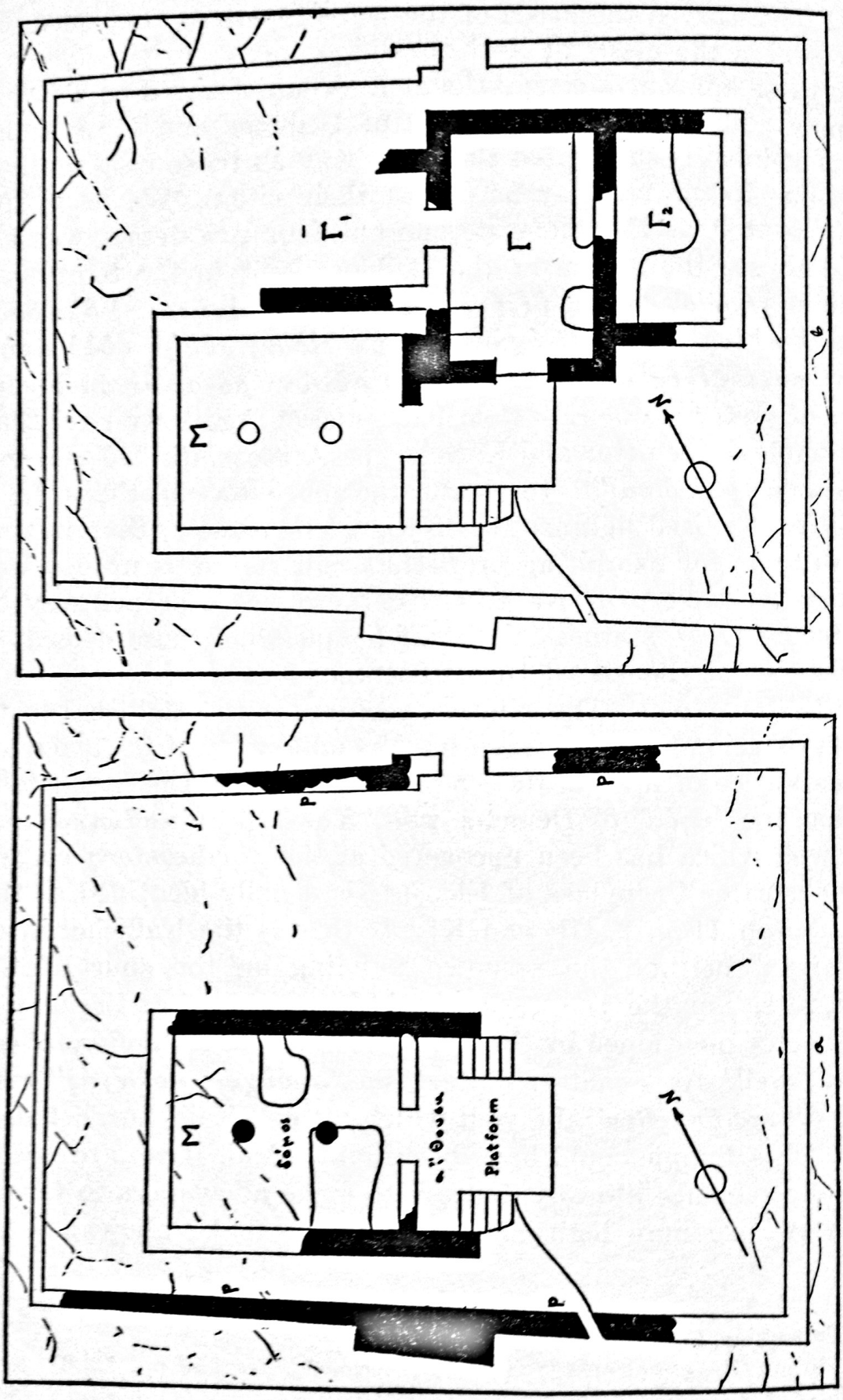

Figure 4. a) The Megaron and its *peribolos*. b) The Megaron with additions.

favour of the other view also. Consequently, no argument even of comparative merit can be placed on the relative position of that well, if that well is the one called Kallichoron today. We shall come back to this objection again in the course of our study of the Kallichoron.

The discussion of the objections advanced against the equation of the temple of Demeter and the Telesterion has definitely proved that they are groundless and that the equation of the two buildings is not only possible but essential. This equation becomes almost obligatory when we recall that there are no ruins within the sanctuary area which could be attributed to a separate temple to Demeter, and that the sites suggested as the areas over which this temple existed at one time or another are definitely proved not to have served such a purpose in the pre-Perikleian Era of the sanctuary. The conclusion that the temple of Demeter and her Telesterion were one and the same building from the very beginning is established both by the archaeological and the literary evidence available to date.

It will perhaps be of interest to go back to the Mycenaean building uncovered in the Telesterion area in 1932 and to review the information made available to date by Kourouniotes and his colleagues.[53] Naturally, the full discussion of that building will be given in the final publication which is in the process of completion. The Mycenaean building is located below the east side of the Archaic Telesterion, with its long axis running east and west and its entrance facing the east (Figs. 2, M and 4). In plan it is a long and narrow megaron, measuring approximately 9.50 m. in length and 5.70 m. in width. By a cross wall the building is divided into a main inner chamber—the *δόμος*—and an open portico—the *αἴθουσα*. The roof of the *domos* was supported by its walls and perhaps by two columns placed symmetrically on the long axis of the building; the basis of one of its columns was found *in situ* by Travlos in 1933. No traces of columns were found in the *αἴθουσα*, the floor of which was found about 0.30 m. below the floor level of the *domos*. The central part of this

[53] Especially in the *Archiv*, XXXII, pp. 53 ff. and *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 274 ff. Cf., also, *Deltion*, XIII (1930-1931), *Parartema*, pp. 17 ff. and XIV (1931-1932), 1 ff.

αἴθουσα, supported by retaining walls, projects almost two meters beyond the ends of the antae, thus forming a large platform, 3.30 m. in width, symmetrically placed so as to leave two passages on either side averaging 1.40 m. in width, and these apparently were filled by stairways which led to the court found 1.25 m. below the level of the platform. The building and its court were surrounded by a *peribolos* wall, the south section of which is well preserved (Fig. 4a, PP). A small piece of lime stucco bearing the representation of a human eye, found in the *domos* of the megaron, proves that it was decorated with wall frescoes similar to those from Mycenae, Tiryns, and Thebes. To the original Megaron a number of rooms (*Γ*, *Γ*1, and *Γ*2, Fig. 4b) were added in later times in a way that made possible the continued use of both the *domos* of the Megaron and its platform. Chronologically the Megaron is placed by the pottery found in it in the Late Helladic II Period, and perhaps in its later years.

In clearing the Mycenaean foundations of the Telesterion area, nothing was found to prove that this Megaron and its additions were used for religious purposes.[54] It should be recalled, however, 1) that its interior was excavated before, and that very few and very small undisturbed sections of it were left for us to investigate; 2) that prehistoric sanctuaries do not possess monumental works which would identify them;[55] 3) that, since

[54] Among the pottery was found the fragment of a Mycenaean clay figurine [*A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 276 and Fig. 5], but this is not sufficient to prove the sanctity of the building. In the Museum of Eleusis are stored a number of Mycenaean figurines discovered during the earlier excavation of the sanctuary area, but unfortunately their exact provenience was not recorded (cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, p. 141 and Fig. 117). The purposes served by these figurines still remain uncertain [cf. Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XLI (1937), 237 ff.].

[55] It would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to identify the sacred character of the shrine of Asine if the few objects in it were not so luckily preserved (cf. Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, pp. xxi ff. and Pls. III and IV; Froedin-Persson, *Asine*, pp. 74 ff., 298 ff. and Figs. 206-213). No cult idols and objects were found in the shrine at Vroulia (cf. Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, p. 391), and the sanctity of the "Shrine of the Double Axe" of Malthi was surmised especially from the discovery of a double axe, which could have been a battle axe (cf. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition*, pp. 179 ff.). Blegen (*Korakou*, pp. 86 and 99) adduces a household worship from the

the sanctuary remained in use from prehistoric to historic times, any objects of religious significance, any ritualistic vessels and images, handed down from generation to generation, must have been cleared from the older and deposited in the newer sanctuaries which replaced them. Consequently, such objects would not have been left for us to find in the old temple when the new one was built over its ruins;[56] 4) that the temple may have been cleared of its offerings before it was abandoned. The discovery of the "*ἱερὰ οἰκία*" and its contents beyond the south gate of the precinct seems to indicate that such a transference of votive offerings was done later, and certainly it could have been done in earlier historic times.

In the absence of relics which would establish the use of the Megaron, we are forced to turn to other possible avenues of information, which, fortunately, are not lacking. The fact that the Megaron is found in an area which is already sacred in Late Geometric times and on a site which was chosen in those times only because it was sanctified by a more ancient cult has been pointed out and discussed above. Continuity of cult places from Mycenaean to historic times is proved in other important sites of Greece such as Delos, Delphi, Thebes, etc.,[57] and the existence of a cult of Demeter at Eleusis in Mycenaean times is indicated by all our available evidence. We have already mentioned the traditions preserved by ancient authors and recorded by the compilers of the *Marmor Parium*. To these must now be added the widespread cult of Demeter Eleusinia in the Peloponnesos and other parts of the Greek world. It could be maintained, of course, that this cult emigrated from Eleusis at a very late date; but it seems to us that all the evidence is in favour of a dispersal of the cult from Eleusis before its full development and crystallization. The differences apparent between the rites held at Eleusis

existence of a small raised platform surrounded, perhaps, by a strip of pebbles in house *P*.

[56] Unfortunately, the Maya custom of building the older shrine into the pyramidal substructure of the newer temples which superseded them was not practiced by the Greeks.

[57] Nilsson, *M. M. R.*, pp. 391 ff. Keramopoullos, *Praktika of the Academy of Athens*, II (1927), 427 ff.

and those at Pheneos, for example,[58] and the non-mystic character of most of them[59] would indicate an early dispersal. Again, most of the known founders of these centers of worship of the Eleusinian Demeter belong to the Heroic Age. The cult at Pheneos was established by Naos, a grandson of Eumolpos, and at Basilis by the pre-Dorian Kypselos.[60] Androclos, the son of Kodros, in the eleventh century introduced to Ionia the rites of Demeter Eleusinia.[61] In view of all these traditions and differences it seems reasonable to maintain that the dispersion of the cult of Demeter from Eleusis occurred in late prehistoric times and this, of course, would indicate the existence of the cult at Eleusis in those times. In this connection we may note the false-necked amphora with the painted inscription in Helladic script which was found in a Late Mycenaean building below the foundations of the Lesser Propylaea (Fig. 2, LP).[62] The reading of

[58] Cf. Pausanias, VIII, 15, 1. The Pheneatians alleged that the rites were identical with those performed at Eleusis, and yet, as Farnell has pointed out (III, 205), their mysteries were held every other year, and in these the Kore does not seem to have any part. The ritual was recorded in books kept in the "petroma," and their chief priest, wearing the mask of Demeter Cidaria, smote the Underground Folk with rods, which, according to Farnell, gave to their mysteries the character of ritualistic magic rather than that of a drama. In these basic details the Greater Mysteries held at Pheneos differed entirely from those at Eleusis.

[59] Pausanias does not hesitate to give a good many details of the mysteries held at Pheneos, for instance, and, according to Hesychios, *Ἐλευσίνια* was not the name given to mysteries but to *ἀγὼν θυμελικὸς ἀγόμενος Δήμητρι παρὰ Λάκωσι*. Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, pp. 288 ff.; Mueller, *Kleine Schrift.* 2, p. 259; Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 102. A good summary of the problem is to be found in Farnell, III, 199 ff.

[60] Pausanias, VIII, 15, 1; 29, 5; and Athenaeos, 609 e and f.

[61] Strabo, XIV, 1, 3.

[62] Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), 426 ff.; *Ephemeris* (1936), pp. 61 ff. The title used for Persephone in that inscription as read, *i. e.*, *παῖς*, is noteworthy. Even in the Homeric hymn she is called Kore. Our earliest written record of Kore is in the archaic inscription of Thera and in the precinct of the temple of Apollo *Κάρνειος* (Farnell, III, 118 ff.). In literature it is found in the hymn of Lasos, as quoted by Athenaeos (624 e) and in the Homeric hymn. The name Kore is very popular in historic times. And yet Pausanias mentions a number of sanctuaries where Demeter and *παῖς* are venerated. At Anthedon, a city whose name may indicate a long prehistoric existence, there was *Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδὸς ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλματα*

that inscription, as suggested, and its interpretation cannot be definitely proved at present, nor can it be rejected; but if the reading is admitted, then we have a dated archaeological document proving the existence of the cult at Eleusis at least in the twelfth century. The continuous use from Geometric times of the same section of the southeastern slope of the Eleusinian hill, so badly adapted to the construction of buildings of any size, definitely indicates that the prehistoric cult of Demeter was celebrated in that area in the years which preceded those times.[63] And, since we find a building occupying that area in prehistoric times, it is natural to maintain that it was the building used for the celebration of the cult.

Other considerations will lead us to the same conclusion. In our first report we have pointed out that the Megaron (Fig. 4a) could not have served as the palace of any of the Eleusinian leaders[64] whose names are known to us from the hymn. It is located beyond the protecting wall of the akropolis within which such buildings were placed in the mainland of Greece.[65] Indeed, the Megaron had its own *peribolos* wall, but the value of that wall as a defensive work was very, very small, since it could not be

λίθου λευκοῦ . . . (Pausanias, IX, 22, 5). In the akropolis of Phlious there was an enclosure, *ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός* (Pausanias, II, 13, 5). At Bouporthmos, not far from Hermione, which boasted of early contributions to the cult of Demeter, there was a *ἱερὸν Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς παιδός* (Pausanias, II, 34, 8). Even in the orbit of Athens there was a temple in which were sheltered statues of Demeter and of *παῖς* (Pausanias, I, 2, 4). The sanctuaries and statues of Demeter and her *παῖς* prove that the title *παῖς* was also given to Persephone, and, since that of Kore was so common in the period which followed the seventh century, it is reasonable to maintain that the title *παῖς* is a very early one, and our inscription on the vase would indicate that it goes back to the Mycenaean Period. It is also interesting to note that the rôle which the *κυκεὼν* played in the mystic rites of Eleusis, and which is suggested by the author of the hymn in his verses 208-209, must have been established in prehistoric times, if the reading of our prehistoric inscription is correct.

[63] Especially, since no other area could be claimed for the purpose, cf. *supra*, pp. 37, 41.

[64] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 284 ff.

[65] Cf. the palaces of the sons of Priam in Troy: *Iliad*, Z, 316-317.

defended if attacked from the higher points of the hill which were still below the fortification wall of the akropolis. The only purpose of its *peribolos* wall was to insure privacy, to shield the people standing on the platform-portico and court of the Megaron and their actions from the eyes of outsiders. And again, the Megaron is too small to be considered as the dwelling place of a somewhat well-to-do member of the Eleusinian community. We now have examples of houses belonging to the period of our Megaron from a number of Mycenaean sites—from Korakou, Mycenae, Zygouries, Asine, Malthi and others—which afford a distinct picture of the type of the houses common in that period. As a rule they are composed of more than one large room. The houses of Korakou, for instance, besides their main room have "an inner room, or in some cases two, each normally provided with a hearth. These chambers seem to have no other entrance than that from the Megaron."[66] At Asine the contemporary houses have "a complicated plan with minor rooms grouped around a large, central room."[67] At Malthi-Dorion the Late Helladic III houses are composed of a number of rooms associated with a central important room, and often arranged around a court.[68] At Eleusis itself, Mycenaean foundations have been uncovered, and, in spite of their fragmentary conditions, they indicate that the houses to which they belong were composed of a number of rooms.[69] Our build-

[66] Blegen, *op. cit.*, p. 99 and Figs. 112, 114, 119, 121, 123.

[67] Froedin-Persson, *Asine*, p. 75 and Figs. 53, 58. The main room of house *G* served as the shrine, too, and its roof was supported by two columns placed on its long axis in the manner suggested for our Megaron. Such arrangement of two columns is found in house *L* at Korakou (*Korakou*, Fig. 112). The possibility that one column might have proved sufficient in our Megaron is suggested by the remains of house *I* of Asine in the XLVI room of which the base of one column was found (cf. Froedin-Persson, *Asine*, Fig. 58). The same arrangement of a single row of columns on the long axis of a room is known from Haghios Kosmas [cf. Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII (1934), 265] and from the much later temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

[68] Valmin, *op. cit.*, pp. 173 ff.

[69] Mylonas, *A. J. A.*, XXXVI (1932), 108 ff.; XL (1936), 419 ff. Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 29 ff.

ing has but one room and in that it will be unique among Mycenaean houses, if it can be called a house. Rooms *Γ*, *Γ*1, and *Γ*2 (Fig. 4b), which our excavations have revealed as built against the north side of the Megaron, are proved to be later additions and not a part of the original building by the fact that their walls are built over some of the walls of the Megaron.[70]

It may be suggested that the Megaron was the house of a poor man who could not afford to construct a larger dwelling. This suggestion is disproved by the existence of the *peribolos* wall which surrounds the Megaron and its court, and by the discovery of the painted stucco fragment which proves the existence of murals in the *domos* of our Megaron. Such frescoes, naturally, were to be seen in the houses of the very rich, and in the mainland of Greece perhaps only in the dwellings of the ruling class. If we are to believe that the Megaron was a dwelling, then we have to believe that it was the dwelling of a prominent and wealthy member of the Eleusinian community and this conclusion seems untenable in view of the smallness of the edifice and its location beyond the fortification wall.

Our Megaron for a time stood by itself on that section of the southern slope of the Eleusinian hill, and, when other buildings were constructed in its neighbourhood, they were built at some distance from the Megaron, and they were separated from it by its *peribolos* wall. In all the other sites where houses of the period were found beyond their palace areas, dwellings were built in close proximity to each other, and later buildings were constructed against earlier ones.[71] This intentional isolation of our Megaron, as well as its other structural peculiarities, must be significant. Its *peribolos* wall has no parallel in the Mycenaean houses uncovered thus far, and we have seen that it could not have been built for defensive purposes. The platform which forms such a characteristic feature of our Megaron is unique and nowhere else represented. This platform, as Kourouniotes has already pointed out,[72] corresponds to the altar of the Megaron

[70] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII (1933), 276 ff. and Pl. XXXIV (H1-H2-H3). *Archiv*, Pl. I, 2.

[71] Cf. references above for the remains of Korakou, Asine, and Malthi-Dorion.

[72] *Archiv, loc. cit.*, p. 60.

of Lykosoura which he uncovered in 1912 and in which the Arcadians performed mysteries in honour of Demeter.[73] These peculiar features, and the considerations brought forward thus far, prove, we believe, that our Megaron was not a mere dwelling place, but a building with special religious functions, *i. e.*, a temple. Its location and its unique plan correspond to the indications obtained from the Homeric hymn.

The Goddess ordered her temple to be constructed, not on the akropolis of Eleusis and its palace district, but "*ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τεῖχος.*" The location of the Megaron fits well this specification—it is built below the line of the fortification wall and at a much lower level—and, as we have seen, no other location in the sanctuary area can have any reasonable claims. The temple of Demeter was to be constructed on a "*προὔχων κολωνός,*" which was to be below the citadel and which was available there. Our Megaron is constructed on such a rocky projecting spur; its floor is 1.70 m. above its court level, below which the rock abruptly falls away until it reaches the level of the plain below, at the depth of over five meters.[74] We have already pointed out that no other such *κολωνός* beyond the citadel exists on the side of the hill where the Eleusinian precinct is located; that the area over which the Megaron was built was abandoned at the end of the Middle Helladic Period; that it remained uninhabited for some centuries; and that the Megaron was the first edifice to be constructed over it at the close of the Late Helladic II Period. Therefore, the area over which the Megaron was built was available at the time of the visit of the Goddess and is the only one that will fit the qualification "*προὔχων κολωνός,*" specified by Demeter herself. This should be especially remembered in connection with our interpretation of the "*Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν.*" If we accept the well which now is, and at least since the fifth century B.C. has been called the Kallichoron as the one mentioned in the hymn and take literally the "*Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν,*" we shall be unable to find a projecting rock in

[73] *Ephemeris* (1912), pp. 143 ff., Figs. 7 and 9. Noack, p. 53, calls it "Abkuerzung eines Telesterions." Pausanias, VIII, 37, 8.

[74] Cf. the foundations of the Peisistrateian and the Philonian stoas, Noack, *Eleusis*, Pl. I A.

the area of the Eleusinian sanctuary on which to place our temple. If we make allowances for the meaning of the "*καθύπερθεν*," then our position will be the only one available for the purpose. But, as we shall see in our next chapter, we do not have to make any allowance for the meaning of the word if we accept the suggestions advanced in it.

The temple must have a "*βωμὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ*." Around that "*βωμός*" the Goddess was, of course, to be worshipped in the peculiar way in which she wanted the Eleusinians to worship her. In this worship the "*δρησμοσύνη θ' ἱερῶν*" and the "*ὄργια σεμνά*" formed the important part. A worship which "*οὔπως ἔστι παρεξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι, οὔτ' ἀχέειν.*"[75] In other words, this was a secret worship in which not the sacrifice, but the "*δρησμοσύνη*" (action) and the exhibition of sundry sacred and symbolic objects were the most important elements. The latter had to be shown to the initiates and explained perhaps by the "*ἱερὸς λόγος*." The exhibiting to the mystae of the sacred objects, "*τὰ δεικνύμενα*," as well as "*τὰ δρώμενα*" and their explanation, "*τὰ λεγόμενα*," remained throughout the life of the mysteries of Eleusis the most important elements of their ritual[76] and apparently formed the nucleus around which the whole service was developed.[77] These action and exhibition scenes had to be staged where they could be seen by the crowd of the initiates.[78] The platform placed in front of our Megaron was excellently adapted for this purpose. The priests and any other officials could stand on its elevated floor while the crowd, standing on the court at a much lower level, would have a splendid view of what was happening before the very temple of the Goddess. The *peribolos* surrounding the court and the Megaron would provide the privacy necessary for such a secret ritual. We may remark that the floor level of the platform was at a lower level than that of the floor of the main part of our Megaron; hence even the "*ὑπ' αὐτῷ*" of the hymn seems to be justified.

[75] The Homeric hymn, vv. 475-479.

[76] Foucart, *Éleusis*, pp. 417 ff.

[77] Cf. the verses of the Homeric hymn quoted above; also the description of the mysteries held at Pheneos, where action and interpretation were certainly of great importance (*supra*, n. 58).

[78] Cf. the arrangements made in the later Telesteria.

The surprising way in which our Megaron meets the description of the temple of Demeter preserved in the Homeric hymn leaves no doubt, we believe, that in the Mycenaean building uncovered below the floor of the Archaic Telesterion we have the early temple of Demeter, the existence of which was so vividly retained in the traditions of Eleusis down to the time when that hymn was composed. We are led to this same conclusion by all the indications and evidence which we can obtain from a variety of sources as we have seen above. Our Megaron is the earliest preserved temple of Demeter at Eleusis and since the temple of Demeter and her Telesterion were one and the same building, we may repeat that our Megaron is the first Telesterion of Eleusis. Its plan, characteristic of the Mycenaean megara, had to be modified with the passing of time to accommodate the increasing number of anxious worshippers. Perhaps it should be added that gradually the service which was held out of doors had to be transferred within the building which served as a temple to Demeter and perhaps the construction in late Mycenaean times of the rooms *Γ*, *Γ*1, and *Γ*2 may mark the beginning of this change which later brought about the building of an almost square hypostyle hall.

Before we close the discussion of the temple of Demeter we must emphasize again that the Eleusinian Megaron has nothing in common with the Minoan structures with which the Telesterion has thus far been compared. Persson has compared the Telesterion with the theatral areas of the Cretan Palaces while other scholars, and especially Picard, have compared it with the pillared crypts and hypostyle halls of Knossos and of Mallia.[79] Both Persson and Picard accept the prehistoric origin of the mysteries and their existence at Eleusis in Mycenaean times, and, consequently, both accept the existence of a temple—a Telesterion at Eleusis in those times. That temple can be no other than the Megaron. Picard has pointed out that the theatral areas could not be compared with the Telesteria because the "telesterion d'Éleusis, dès ses origines à sa fin, a eu une forme d'hypostyle fermé"; but he advanced the view that this roofed building of

[79] *Archiv*, XXI (1922), 308. *R. Hist.*, CLXVI (1931), 60. For Mallia, cf. *B. C. H.*, LII (1928), 324 ff.

the hypostyle type and of a quadrangular shape "contraste avec le modèle du mégaron-temple et décéde un plan prehellenique."[80] The latest excavations, however, have proved that the type of building which both Persson and Picard had in mind was a type developed at Eleusis long after the earlier and first temple of Demeter was destroyed; that this earlier and first temple, in fact, has nothing to do with the pillared crypts of Crete and presents no similarities to the shrines and sanctuaries uncovered in the Mycenaean-Minoan world.[81] The arguments, therefore, which have been based on the architectural remains of Eleusis, revealed by the older excavations, and which seemed to have been in favour of a Cretan origin of the cult are proved unfounded by our later excavations.

The main conclusions of this chapter should perhaps be here summarized. The latest excavations conducted at Eleusis have definitely proved that the temple and the Telesterion of Demeter were one and the same building; that the temple of Demeter built by the Eleusinians in response to her own command was constructed on the only possible "*προὔχων κολωνός*" on the southeast slope of the Eleusinian Akropolis, in Mycenaean times; that this temple is the Megaron which was uncovered below the floors of the historic Telesteria in 1932; that it conforms perfectly with the traditional description of the temple as preserved in the so-called Homeric hymn; that the hypothesis built and conclusions reached by the "separatists" and their followers, and especially by Noack, are proved unfounded.

[80] *R. Hist.*, CLXVI (1931), 60.

[81] These sanctuaries were usually incorporated in the palace or house complexes, and had ledges on which the cult idols were placed and in front of which the services were held. Cf. references in n. 2. Also Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, Figs. 371 and 527 for representations of such Minoan shrines.

CHAPTER IV

THE *ΚΑΛΛΙΧΟΡΟΝ*

". . . . . ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες
χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ᾖσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν."
(Pausanias, I, 38, 6)

In the course of the narrative of the wanderings of Demeter, the author of her hymn mentions the *Παρθένιον* well and what has been accepted by all scholars, the *Καλλίχορον* well, in spite of the fact that the word *φρέαρ* was not added when the latter was mentioned. These two wells are among the few topographic landmarks the memory of which is clearly preserved in the hymn. The identification of these two landmarks has not attracted a great deal of attention for two reasons: first, because they seemed not to present any topographic problem; and second, because they were supposed to be incapable of contributing anything new to our knowledge of the Eleusinian *hieron.* They seemed not to present any problem because, since the times of Euripides, the position of at least one of them, of the Kallichoron, was well known, and in modern times its remains were uncovered exactly where the references of the ancients had placed them. In spite of this agreement of ancient references and modern discovery, we believe that the two wells mentioned in the hymn do present a topographic problem of no little consequence, a problem whose solution is perhaps made possible by the evidence uncovered at Eleusis in the last decade.

The text of the hymn leaves no doubt that the Parthenion and the Kallichoron were two distinct wells. The Parthenion appears first in the narrative, and it was the well near which the Goddess sat to rest. We should perhaps emphasize the dative *"Παρθενίῳ φρέατι"* used by the composer, which with the *"ἕζετο"* to which it belongs would signify the general locality.[1]

[1] D. B. Monro, *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* (Oxford, 1891), p. 139, 145-4.

That the Goddess was resting in the general locality of the well is also indicated by a later passage (vv. 179-180), which tells us that the Eleusinian maidens on their return from their mission to Metaneira found the Goddess where they left her before, "*ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο*," and not sitting on any part of the well.

The Homeric is not the only hymn in which the Goddess was made to rest by the side of a well. It seems that Pamphos in his hymn to Demeter staged the meeting of the Goddess and the maidens of Eleusis around a well and fortunately the pertinent passage of his poem has been preserved by Pausanias.[2] "'*Ετέρα δὲ ὁδὸς ἐξ 'Ελευσῖνος πρὸς Μέγαρα ἄγει*," writes the *periegetes*. "*Ταύτην ἐρχομένοις τὴν ὁδὸν φρέαρ ἐστὶν ''Ανθιον καλούμενον. 'Εποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραῒ εἰκασμένην.*" It is obvious that there is some difference in the information preserved in the two poems regarding the wells. In the Homeric hymn the well is called Parthenion, in the hymn of Pamphos it is Anthion. Scholars tried to get around the difficulty by assuming that the Anthion of Pamphos and the Parthenion of the hymn are one and the same well, and Frazer suggested that the spring known today as Vlika, at a distance of a mile and a half to the west of Eleusis and on the road to Megara, is the famous well.[3] If we accept the equation of *''Ανθιον = Παρθένιον* we have to place the well near which the Goddess stopped to rest at some distance from the site of Eleusis and on the way to Megara, and, consequently, there will remain the Kallichoron only to be looked for in the sanctuary area. This, of course, would simplify greatly and perhaps eliminate our problem, and this has been done thus far by all scholars. But I believe that the equation of the Anthion and the Parthenion, which has been accepted so widely, is contrary to the information preserved in our sources.

First of all we must remember that the Goddess told the Eleusinian maidens that she had arrived at Eleusis from the direction

[2] I, 39, 1. This passage is the only preserved portion of the hymn to Demeter by Pamphos.

[3] Cf. *Commentary*, II, 514, 519. See also his comment on Apollodoros, I, V, 1 (Loeb edition, I, 36, n. 1). Cf. *Homeric Hymns* comment on v. 99, p. 142.

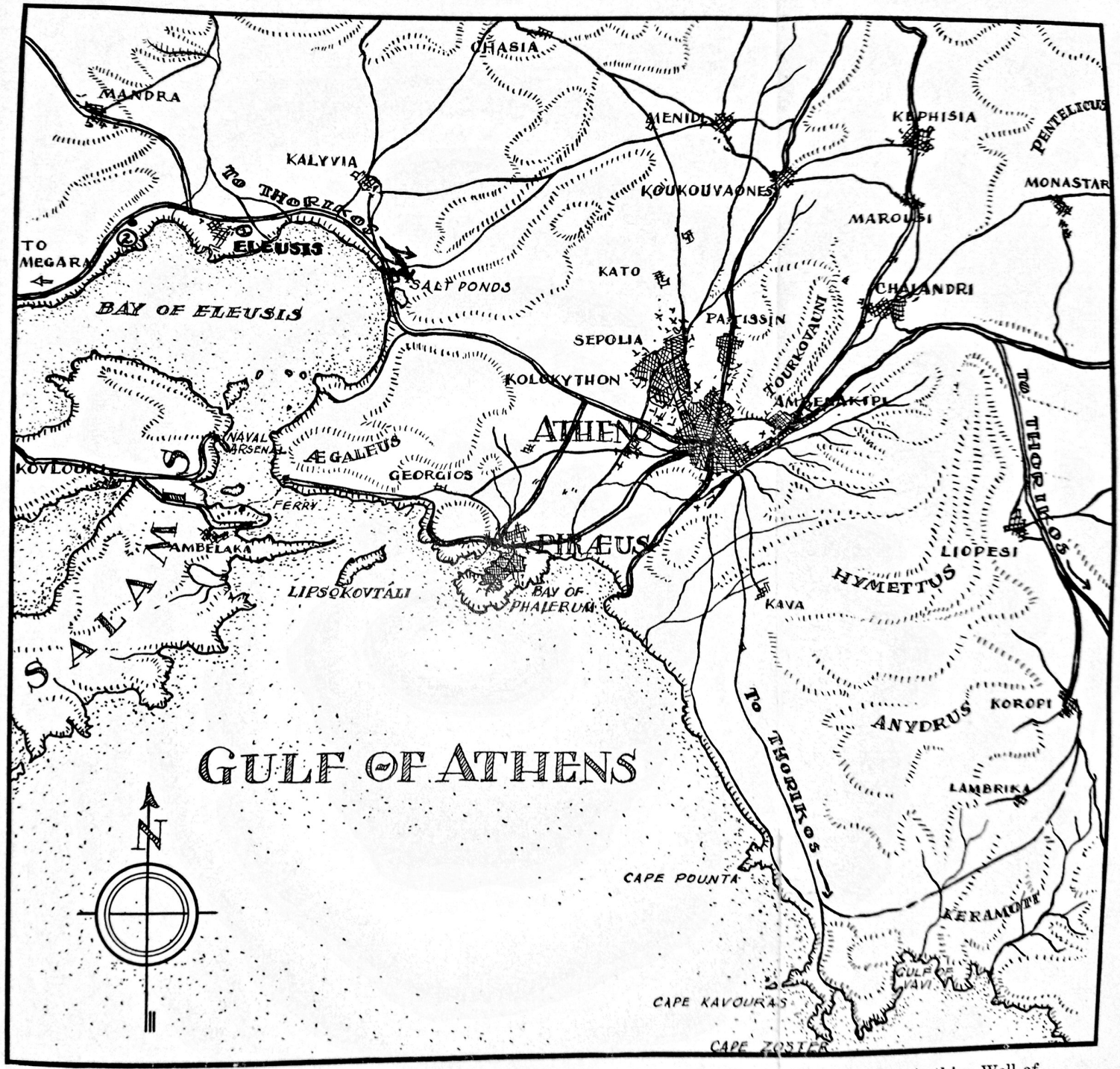

Figure 5. Athens, Eleusis and their surroundings. 1) The Parthenion Well—or well A; 2) The Anthion Well of Pamphos.

(From the original by J. A. Kaupert)

But to assume, as we have to if we equate the Anthion with the Parthenion, that Demeter coming from Thorikos, according to her own story, passed one well after another standing by the side of the road she had to follow to reach Eleusis, passed the village in which she was destined to remain, went beyond that village a considerable distance in the direction of Megara and then stopped to be found by the maidens of Eleusis, is very difficult to understand and more difficult to maintain. And then, if we assume the equation, how could we justify the trip of the maidens to that very distant well when they could draw all the water they needed from wells so much nearer their settlement? That this was not a special trip occasionally attempted by the maidens for a diversion, a sort of promenade, and miraculously provided by fate, but a regular task is definitely indicated by the words "*Παρθενίῳ φρέατι ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται*" (v. 99).

Of course, the date of these wells will have to be considered in any argument of this kind. But there is no reason to believe that the wells in the direction towards Athens were not in use in Mycenaean times and, of course, there is no indication or proof that the well mentioned by Pausanias was a very, very old one. Our objection to the assumed equation of these wells is not limited to the above considerations.

Pausanias, after mentioning the "*Ἄνθιον φρέαρ*, adds that thence the daughters of Keleos took the Goddess to their mother. In his translation and comments of this passage, Frazer apparently has followed the text published by Schubart which reads "*ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἅτε γυναῖκα γραῖαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ Κελεοῦ κομισθῆναι παρὰ τὴν μητέρα.*" The words *ἅτε γυναῖκα γραῖαν* should be especially noted because instead of them in all the surviving manuscripts we have *ἅτε γυναῖκα Ἀργείαν*. The passage therefore should read, and is so corrected in the later editions of the text, as follows: "*ἐντεῦθεν δὲ αὐτὴν ἅτε γυναῖκα Ἀργείαν ὑπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ Κελεοῦ κομισθῆναι . . . .*"[5] The change from *Ἀργείαν* to *γραῖαν* apparently was made following the suggestion of Ruhnken who, in his edi-

[5] Cf., for example, the passage in Spiro's edition or in the Loeb edition by Jones, and compare with Schubart's, *Pausaniae Descriptio Graeciae* (Leipzig, 1870), I, 39, 1.

tion of the hymn to Demeter and as a comment on verse 105, suggested that the passage of Pausanias should be so amended,[6] perhaps in order to avoid the conflict existing between the Homeric hymn and that of Pamphos. If in the text we restore the correct reading, *i. e.*, *γυναῖκα Ἀργείαν*, we shall find it impossible to eliminate this conflict and in consequence to equate the wells mentioned in the two hymns. If the Goddess was disguised in the form of an Argive woman, as it is stated in the hymn of Pamphos, how could she maintain that she was a Cretan in the Homeric hymn? It is apparent that there is a conflict in the statements of the two hymns, a conflict which can be explained only if we assume that different traditions are followed by their composers.

That the tradition of the wanderings of Demeter preserved in the Homeric hymn was not the only one known to the ancients is proved by a number of passages from various authors. Apollodoros, for example, has preserved the tradition current at Hermione that Demeter learned of Persephone's rape by Plouto not from Helios, as it is stated in the Homeric hymn, but from the people of Hermione.[7] Pausanias mentions the temple of Demeter *χθονία* at Hermione where it was believed that a chasm existed which formed a "short cut" to the lower world.[8] So short, indeed, and private it was that the people of Hermione *"οὐκ ἐντιθέασιν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς νεκροῖς ναῦλον."*[9] Through that chasm Plouto could have carried Persephone to the lower world. In Argos it was believed that *"Δήμητρα ἐς Ἄργος ἐλθοῦσαν Πελασγὸς δέξαιτο οἴκῳ καὶ ὡς Χρυσανθὶς τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἐπισταμένη τῆς Κόρης διηγήσαιτο· ὕστερον δὲ Τροχίλον ἱεροφάντην φυγόντα ἐξ Ἄργους κατὰ ἔχθος Ἀγήνορος ἐλθεῖν φησιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ γυναῖκά τε ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος γῆμαι καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Εὐβουλέα καὶ Τριπτόλεμον."*[10] This certainly implies that the

[6] David Ruhnken, *Homeri Hymnus in Cererem* (Lipsiae, 1827), p. 16, n. on v. 105.

[7] I, 5, 1: *μαθοῦσα δὲ παρ' Ἑρμιονέων ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἥρπασεν . . . .*

[8] II, 35, 4-11.

[9] Strabo, VIII, 6, 12 (p. 373).

[10] Pausanias, I, 14, 2. It is to be noted that he introduced the statement with *λέγεται οὖν ὡς.*

cult was introduced to Eleusis from Argos. As a result of this tradition, Demeter was worshipped at Argos as "*Πελασγίς*."[11] At a short distance from Argos and near Lerna was pointed out the very passage to Hades which was used by Plouto; "*πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περίβολός ἐστι λίθων, καὶ τὸν Πλούτωνα ἁρπάσαντα ὡς λέγεται Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος καταβῆναι ταύτῃ φασὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπόγεων νομιζομένην ἀρχήν.*"[12]

These passages clearly indicate that there was a very popular tradition which associated Demeter with Argos. The Homeric hymn associates Demeter with Eleusis. In the short passage from the hymn of Pamphos, the Goddess is called "'*Αργεία.*" She stops to rest at a well which is on the way to Argos and which a traveler from Argos had to pass on his way to Eleusis. The scanty information available supports the belief that Pamphos in composing his hymn made use of the Argive tradition, a tradition entirely different from that used by the composer of the Homeric hymn. These two different and perhaps rivaling traditions should of necessity have a different topographic setting whose landmarks could be and perhaps were different. Consequently, we cannot equate the topographic points—the wells—mentioned in these traditions without a definite proof. Such a proof does not exist. As a matter of fact, I believe that the only available evidence on the matter, Pausanias' statement, favours the rejection of this equation of the wells that has found so much favour in the eyes of modern scholars.[13]

In his all-important passage (I, 39, 1), Pausanias specifically states "*ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι (τῷ 'Ανθίῳ) καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα.*" From these words it becomes evident that

[11] Pausanias, II, 22, 1. The implications suggested by this name and the study of the problem connected with the time of the introduction of planted grains into Greece will require a special study. But perhaps it should be noted that the name *Πελασγοὶ* seems to have been applied by the Greeks to those early tribes which occupied Greece before the descent of the Indo-Europeans into the peninsula. Hence, it implies a very great antiquity. Cf. J. L. Myres, "A History of the Pelasgian Theory," *J. H. S.*, XXVII (1907), 170 ff. Mylonas, *'Η νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ ἐν 'Ελλάδι*, pp. 141 ff.

[12] Pausanias, II, 36, 7.

[13] The views of scholars are based on Frazer's comment on the passage, which, however, is based on the wrong text.

the Anthion was the resting-place of the Goddess according to the story told by Pamphos, which, as we have seen, differed from that of the Homeric hymn. If the two hymns were in agreement on that point, *i. e.*, if the Parthenion of the Homeric hymn and the Anthion of the poem of Pamphos were one and the same, Pausanias certainly would have noted the agreement and would have mentioned it, as he did in other instances where the two poets agreed. In discussing the sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura, for instance, he goes on to say "*ἐπίκλησις ἐς τοὺς πολλούς ἐστιν αὐτῇ Δέσποινα, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Διὸς Κόρην ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐστιν ὄνομα Περσεφόνη, καθὰ Ὅμηρος καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Πάμφως ἐποίησαν.*"[14] It is generally assumed that in this passage by Homer is meant the author of the *Odyssey* and of the *Iliad*. Consequently, in the comments made on the passage references are given to the verses in these poems in which the name "*Περσεφόνεια*" is mentioned.[15] This assumption is wrong, because in the few passages of the *Odyssey* and of the *Iliad* *Περσεφόνεια* is the wife of Plouto-Hades and the mistress of the lower world. In one instance only (*λ*, 217) she is called "*Διὸς θυγάτηρ.*" The name *Κόρη*[16] appears in no passage of these epic poems, and the equation of *Κόρη* = *Περσεφόνη* is to be found only in the Homeric hymn. In that hymn she is "*κόρη Δήμητρος ἁγνή,*" and to the Goddess "*αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια*" the invocation is made at the close of the hymn.[17] In a well-known passage Pausanias informs us that "Homer says nothing of the lineage of Eumolpos, but in his verses calls him 'manly.'" Since Eumolpos is not mentioned either in the *Odyssey* or in the *Iliad* it is apparent that by Homer Pausanias means the author of the Homeric hymn in whose

[14] Pausanias, VIII, 37, 9.

[15] Cf. Frazer, *ad loc.* The passages, not very numerous, are: *Iliad*, *I*, 457, 569; *Odyssey*, *κ*, 491, 494, 509, 534, 564; *λ*, 47, 213, 217, 226, 386, 635.

[16] The name Kore was later developed into a cult name (cf. Farnell, III, 338). Its first appearance in literature is in a fragment of Lasos quoted by Athenaeos, 624 e: *Λᾶσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ Δήμητρα ὕμνῳ λέγων οὕτως: Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοιο ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν.*

[17] Vv. 66, 333, 439, 444, 463, 493.

verses Eumolpos, the "*ἀγήνωρ*" instead of "*ἀμύμων*," is mentioned.[18] Certainly Pausanias means the composer of the Homeric hymn to Demeter when he writes that Homer was the first to "mention Fortune" and quotes three verses of that hymn.[19] The agreement noted between Pamphos and Homer regarding the Goddesses venerated at Lykosoura was, therefore, an agreement between the verses of Pamphos and those of the composer of the Homeric hymn. Again Pausanias states that "Pamphos and Homer (*i. e.*, the author of the Homeric hymn) agree in calling" the daughters of Keleos, Diogenia, Pammerope, and Saesara. The names quoted by the *periegetes* do not agree with those given in our manuscripts of the Homeric hymn, and it has been suggested that the difference may be due to an error on the part of Pausanias,[20] or to a text differing from the ones which have survived.[21] Whatever the true explanation may be, the fact remains that when Pausanias found, or thought he had found, an agreement between the poem of Pamphos and the verses of the Homeric hymn, he specifically mentioned it.

In our crucial passage dealing with the Anthion, Pausanias writes, "Pamphos says," not Pamphos and Homer say; and this, we believe, definitely indicates that the two poems were not in agreement at that point and that, therefore, the Parthenion and the Anthion were two different wells and not one and the same well. Frazer has maintained that Pamphos' version of the story, at least of the part of the story in which our well is figuring,

[18] Pausanias, I, 38, 2. In v. 154 of the hymn we read *ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο*, and in the next line Keleos is given the epithet "manly" *πατρὸς ἀγήνορος ἠμετέροιο*. Frazer, *ad loc.*, suggests that in "Pausanias's copy of the hymn the epithets were transposed" and Allen, Halliday, and Sikes suggest that "Pausanias' quotation is probably a casual error, influenced by the next line."

[19] Vv. 417, 418, 420; Pausanias, IV, 30, 4. Long ago Makrobios (Sat., V, 16, 8) pointed out that the word *τύχη* is not to be found either in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.

[20] Pausanias, I, 38, 3. Pausanias perhaps made a mistake and used Homer for Orpheus or Mousaeos. This suggestion was made by Allen, Halliday, and Sikes, who have further pointed out that the papyrus supports the text of M. (p. 143 on v. 109).

[21] Frazer, on Pausanias, I, 38, 3.

is the "local Eleusinian version of the legend."[22] Yet Pausanias in his passage emphatically states, "Pamphos says," not Pamphos and the Eleusinians, or the Eleusinians. In other instances when he has preserved the local tradition, he is careful to introduce it with "*λέγεται οὖν*," or, "*ὡς λέγεται*,"[23] and we should expect him to do the same in the present occasion. Pausanias was familiar with the Homeric hymn. Certainly that hymn formed the official Eleusinian version of the story. The fact that he attributed the story of the Anthion to Pamphos alone seems to indicate that the official version differed from that of Pamphos. Consequently, Frazer's assumption in this matter is not correct. We have to bear in mind also that Pamphos is supposed to have flourished before Homer and at a time when Eleusis and Athens were two rival cities; that the family of the Lykomidae, for whom Pamphos composed his hymn to Demeter, owned a shrine at Phlya where mystic rites were performed; that such rites were supposed to have been celebrated at Phlya even before the cult of Demeter was instituted at Eleusis (Pausanias, I, 31, 4 and Frazer's comment on passage); that naturally the family of the Lykomidae would be antagonistic to the Eleusinian regime. When we bear all these details in mind we shall find it natural to conclude that Pamphos, working for the Lykomidae, would use a tradition rival to that common at Eleusis.

It seems to us that the evidence available indicates that the wells mentioned by Pamphos and by the author of the Homeric hymn are two distinct wells located at different places and that they have been wrongly assumed thus far to be identical; that the topographic problem which their equation has eliminated still exists; and that the topography of Eleusis and the story of Demeter to the daughters of Keleos necessarily will place the well, near which the Goddess stopped to rest, beyond that side of the settlement which stretched in the direction of Thorikos and Athens, and therefore to the north of that settlement.

The position of the Parthenion in relation to the prehistoric

[22] *Op. cit.*, II, 514, 519.

[23] Cf. *supra*, nn. 10 and 12. Perhaps the stress introduced by the '*ἐπί τούτῳ*' *τῷ φρέατι* is also indicative of the difference existing between the poem of Pamphos and the Eleusinian version of the story.

settlement of Eleusis is indicated by the words of the princesses to the Goddess as quoted in the hymn

> *"Τίς πόθεν ἐσσὶ γρηὺ παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων;*
> *τίπτε δὲ νόσφι πόληος ἀπέστιχες οὐδὲ δόμοισι*
> *πιλνᾷς."* (Vv. 113-115)

The Parthenion was *"νόσφι πόληος"* and these two words, by means of which its location is suggested, are perhaps responsible for the notion that the Parthenion must be sought at some distance from the sanctuary. Hence the favour bestowed on Pamphos' version which places the well more than a mile beyond that sanctuary. Of course the word *"νόσφι"* usually means at "some distance from," but it also means "apart" or "aloof from" which does not necessarily imply a great distance.[24] And again, we have to remember that the words apply not to the historic city of Eleusis, as it is invariably assumed, but to the prehistoric settlement. This prehistoric settlement in Late Helladic II times did not occupy the same area which the later historic town filled, but occupied the southwestern slopes of the Eleusinian hill and its top. The excavations conducted thus far have failed to unearth any Late Helladic I remains in the sanctuary area, a finding which seems to indicate that the sanctuary area did not form part of the settlement in the period when the cult of Demeter was introduced to Eleusis.[25] The sanctuary area, therefore, was beyond the city limits, and, consequently, a person in this area, and especially in its extreme northern section which extends in the direction of Athens, could be conceived as being *"νόσφι πόληος."* Apollodoros, in a much debated passage, tells us that the resting-place of the Goddess was near the Kallichoron, and this would imply that to the Eleusinians that section of the sanctuary was *"νόσφι πόληος,"*[26] the word *"πόληος"* always standing for the prehistoric settlement. It is possible, therefore, to maintain, without violating any limitations imposed by our evidence, that the Parthenion well at the side of which the Goddess rested could be located not far from the sanctuary area.

[24] *Homeric Lexikon, s. v. νόσφι.*

[25] Cf. *supra*, p. 42.

[26] I, 5, 1. This passage will be discussed in our next chapter.

Again, according to the Homeric hymn, the Kallichoron, a second well, must have existed in prehistoric times in the vicinity of the settlement. No one has yet suggested that the Kallichoron and the Parthenion of the hymn were one and the same well, and the fact that the temple of Demeter was built *"Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν"* would indicate that this well was in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary area if not in the area itself. If we assume that the Parthenion was at some distance from that area, how can we explain the preference shown for it by the Eleusinians? They could have drawn their water from the Kallichoron without having to go a great way.[27] But if the Parthenion, too, is placed in the sanctuary area or at a short distance from it, then the preference shown for it by the Eleusinians can easily be understood.

If we assume that these considerations are correct in the main and that the two wells, mentioned in the hymn, should be sought within or in the proximity of the sanctuary area, could we proceed further and identify definite relics existing in the area as belonging to the Kallichoron and to the Parthenion of prehistoric times?

The latest excavations conducted at Eleusis make possible such further study. In 1892 in the northeast corner of the Greater Propylaea, Philios uncovered a well which was rightly identified as the Kallichoron of Pausanias (Fig. 2, K). It is constructed in a very substantial way, and its mouth forms the center of a number of concentric circles, which were assumed as marking the rounds in which the Eleusinian women danced.[28] Recently a second well, which we may call well *B* for convenience, was discovered by Kourouniotes within the sanctuary area, which, because of its age, has to be considered in any thesis regarding the wells of the hymn.[29] It is located by the northeastern corner of

[27] As for the quality of the water, it may be inferred from present conditions that it was the same in all wells within a convenient radius from the settlement. It is safe to assume that no well would survive for centuries, *i. e.*, from the time of the reputed arrival of the Goddess at Eleusis to the time of the composition of the hymn, if its water was not suitable for the needs of the people.

[28] *Praktika* (1892), pp. 33 ff. Noack, *Eleusis*, p. 73, Fig. 34.

[29] A well-cutting was found on the southwestern slope of the Eleusinian hill and within the limits of the prehistoric settlement in our excavations

the foundation of the stoa of Philo and by the eastern jamb of the small gate, of the *πυλίς*, of the archaic *peribolos* and retaining wall[30] (Fig. 2, *Z12*). The well was filled up in antiquity and when the terraced area of the Telesterion began to be extended to the east. When this operation did take place is uncertain, but the well may have been filled in during the second building era of the Archaic Period. Since part of the Late Archaic retaining wall is built over this well, we have to conclude that the construction of that wall will form the *terminus ante quem* for the filling in of the well. The exact date of this activity will, perhaps, be determined when its interior is entirely cleared of its contents.[31] The date of the construction of the well which today is called the Kallichoron, and which for convenience we may call well *A*, also is not known, but it seems that it was in use in the times of Euripides at least.

In the sanctuary area, therefore, and in the direction of Athens and Thorikos, we find two wells, *A* and *B*, which in all probability were in use at the time when the Homeric hymn was being composed. In the Homeric hymn we have two wells, the Parthenion and the Kallichoron, which are used in the narrative. We believe

of 1930. Thus far it has proved impossible to excavate the well completely and to determine its age (Mylonas, *Eleusis*, pp. 10, 172). But since the well is located within the settlement, even if it were of prehistoric age, it cannot enter into our discussion. Other wells in the area of the historic town of Eleusis, being of a later age, are of little use in the discussion.

[30] The general area is marked as *Z11* and *Z12* in Kourouniotes' plans [*Deltion*, XIV (1931-1932), 17, and XV (1934), 48, plan]; "*B6*- by γ^2" in Noack's plans.

[31] That two building periods in the archaic wall construction must be distinguished at Eleusis has been proved definitely by Kourouniotes [*Deltion*, XIV (1931-1932), 15, 17]. In the summer of 1934, with the help of the late guard of antiquities at Eleusis, Stratis Kehaghias, we attempted to clear the well, but the small opening of its mouth and the large stones which fill it almost to its brim forced the postponement of the work. This, we hope, will be undertaken as soon as it will prove possible. The interior of the well, known today as Kallichoron, was also investigated during the same summer, but, unfortunately, that well was cleared in Early Christian times and all its contents were found to date from the Christian period. That the Kallichoron was in use before that period is proved by Euripides' references to it, by Pausanias' description, and by its construction.

that it is possible to equate the wells *A* and *B*, discovered by the excavators of Eleusis, with the Parthenion and the Kallichoron wells, mentioned in the hymn.

We must recall that the Goddess, coming from the direction of Thorikos, rested by the Parthenion. Whether she, in fact, came from Thorikos is immaterial; her movements and the surrounding in which she was found had to support her story. We must also remember that the prehistoric village of Eleusis, to which the Goddess came, spread over the southwest slope and on the top of the hill. The only possible way of reaching it from the direction of Thorikos was by means of the later Sacred Way which, in antiquity, as well as today, passed by the northeastern edge of the Panaghitsa spur (Fig. 2, *P1*). Well *A* would be the one she would meet on her way as she approached the village district (Fig. 2, K). Well *B* was a good deal out of that way (Fig. 2, *Z12*). The well at the side of which the Goddess rested was the Parthenion, and it seems that *A* was that well. Again, in the hymn we find that the Kallichoron must have been at the foot of a rocky spur. On that spur the temple of Demeter (the Telesterion) was built "*ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν.*" Well *B* is so located at the foot of a projecting rock on top of which the remains of the earlier sanctuary of Eleusis were found. Well *A* is not at the foot of a ledge nor near the temple of Demeter as we have seen above. It seems, therefore, that well *B* which has been recently discovered by the northeastern edge of the Stoa of Philo is the Kallichoron of the hymn and that well *A* is the Parthenion of the hymn. But well *A* in the times of Pausanias was accepted as the Kallichoron: "'*Ἐλευσινίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Τριπτολέμου ναός, ἔστι δὲ Προπυλαίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος πατρός, φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον.*"[32] All these monuments were "*ἐκτὸς τείχους,*" and the foundations of the temple of Artemis have been uncovered directly in front of the Greater Propylaea. Near them a well was uncovered which certainly must be the Kallichoron of Pausanias, and this is our well *A*, the well which we identify with the Parthenion of the hymn.

[32] I, 38, 6.

Is it possible to suggest an explanation for this conflict of names and wells? It is interesting to note that the Parthenion well is never again mentioned in literature after its initial appearance in the verses of the Homeric hymn. And it seems possible to assume that when our well *B*, the Kallichoron of the hymn, was filled in, perhaps at the close of the Archaic Period, and after the composition of the hymn, its name, the Kallichoron, was transferred to well *A*, which until then was called Parthenion. For some time the same well might have been called by both names. The Kallichoron was a definite landmark of Eleusinian topography; it was mentioned by the Goddess, and its rôle in the story of Demeter remained the same throughout the ages; hence its existence was very essential, and its name survived. The Parthenion became of secondary importance when it was superseded by the "*'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*," which was pointed out as the resting-place of the Goddess in the Classical Era; consequently, its name could be and was forgotten. The statement of Apollodoros regarding the Kallichoron, we believe, strengthens, if it does not prove, this suggestion. "*. . . . . εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ ἦκεν εἰς 'Ελευσῖνα. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν 'Αγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον, ἔπειτα πρὸς Κελεὸν ἐλθοῦσα . . . . .*"[33] Of course, the Homeric hymn specifically states that the Goddess sat by the Parthenion. Apollodoros is not the only one who seems to confuse these wells. Kallimachos in his hymn to Demeter states "*τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιχόρῳ, χαμάδις ἐκαθίσσαο φρητί . . . .*" (v. 15). Nicander in his *Θηριακὰ* repeats:

> "*τὸν μὲν τ' ἐρέει φάτις, οὔνεκ' 'Αχαιὴ*
> *Δημήτηρ ἔβλαψεν, ὅθ' ἅψεα σίνατο παιδός*
> *Καλλίχορον παρὰ φρεῖαρ, ὅτ' ἐν Κελεοῖο θεράπναις*
> *ἀρχαίη Μετάνειρα θεὴν δείδεκτο περίφρων.*"[34]

Allen, Halliday, and Sikes have tried to explain away these statements by assuming that "the fame of this latter (*i. e.*, the Kallichoron) led several ancient writers to identify it with the place where Demeter rested," and Frazer dismisses the passages

[33] I, 5, 1.
[34] Vv. 484-487.

by maintaining that the "local Eleusinian legend seems to have placed the scene of the Goddess' rest . . . at another well on the road to Megara."[35] But we have seen that this is not the case and that the local official tradition as embodied in the Homeric hymn ignores the version held by Pamphos only. Furthermore, it has been assumed that Apollodoros has confused his traditions.[36] We doubt that this is the case. Apollodoros certainly knew his hymns because he has followed them in the narration of the story of the wandering of Demeter. He also must have known the Eleusis of his time.[37] He seems to have followed the hymn in the story part, but when he came to actual topographic details, he used the landmarks which were pointed out to him when he visited Eleusis. He must have seen the "*'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*," or the traditional resting-place of the Goddess by the roadside, and this was near the well which was then called Kallichoron and not Parthenion. And so he recorded what he actually saw, along with the story which he borrowed from the hymns. It is, therefore, possible to maintain that at the time of Apollodoros the old name of the well, Parthenion, was entirely forgotten, and its later name, Kallichoron, was in use. The same reasoning could apply to the case of Kallimachos who was older than Apollodoros and whose *floruit* is more definitely placed in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelpheus (285-247 B. C.). The references in these authors so interpreted strengthen considerably, if they do not prove definitely, the identifications proposed.

When the original Kallichoron, the well *B*, was filled in and its name was transferred to the Parthenion, to the well *A*, cannot be determined at present. We hope that when the well is cleared entirely it will provide the answer. Our earliest reference to the well by the Greater Propylaea (well *A*) as Kallichoron is

[35] *Homeric Hymns*, p. 142 on v. 99. Frazer's *Commentary on Pausanias*, II, 514 (on I, 38, 6).

[36] Philios, *Praktika* (1892), p. 35, n. 1. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[37] Photios identifies the author as Apollodoros, the Athenian grammarian (*Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, p. 142a, 37). This identification may be doubtful, but C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 34, has concluded that he was an Athenian.

to be found in the "'*Ικέτιδες*" of Euripides. Theseus on his way to Thebes stopped at Eleusis to send a herald to Kreon. His army was stationed outside the sanctuary:

"στρατὸς δὲ θάσσει καξετάζεται παρὼν
Καλλίχορον ἀμφὶ σεμνὸν εὐτρεπὴς ὅδε."[38]

From this passage it becomes evident that by 420 B. C. the old name Parthenion was forgotten and the new Kallichoron was in general use. For, as was mentioned above, it is probable that for a time the two names were used for the same well. Perhaps the name Parthenion came to be used to indicate the pure and undefiled source itself, while the name Kallichoron was applied to the well structure above the soil surface. Gradually the latter supplanted the former entirely.

The filling in of well *B* which caused the transfer of its name to well *A* could not give rise to any religious scruples, because that well had no religious associations, but it was simply mentioned by the Goddess as a landmark. It was not sanctified by any other association, nor did it play any part in the newly found cult. The same thing is apparently true for the Parthenion. According to the Eleusinian story, the Goddess sat by the side of the road in the neighbourhood of the well—not at the well, in which case it could be considered as consecrated by the divine act. The fact that the well which later was known as the Kallichoron was left out of the precinct, seems to indicate that it was not considered so sacred although it was a revered landmark of old Eleusis.[39] Of course, Pausanias, in mentioning the Kallichoron well, adds *"ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ᾖσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν."*[40] But apparently the statement was made in an effort to explain the name and reverence in which the well was held in the times of Pausanias. For, in the Homeric hymn and for the first time, the women

[38] Vv. 391-392. It is to be noted that the area around the Kallichoron of today was the logical stopping-place for people coming from Athens to Eleusis.

[39] This is proved by the alterations made in the steps of the Greater Propylaea and in the arrangement of the fortification wall around the well.

[40] I, 38, 6.

"παννύχιαι κυδρὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο
δείματι παλλόμεναι" (vv. 292-293)

in the house of Keleos and not by the well, and later on they apparently worshipped the Goddess in the temple built for her by the Eleusinians. The well could not have taken its name from any dances held in honour of the Goddess, as might be implied from the passage of Pausanias, because it was known by that name at the time of the arrival of the Goddess at Eleusis, since she called it by that name when she revealed herself to Metaneira.[41]

The need of increasing the terraced space for the Telesterion was so great, and the religious importance of the Kallichoron, well *B*, was so small that its filling in could not have been objectionable. This well, however, was a landmark which was mentioned by the Goddess herself, and which, if pointed out to the visitors, would increase the credibility of the myth. And so, when it was filled in, its name was transferred to another well which until then had been called the Parthenion. Gradually the Kallichoron supplanted the earlier name. This substitution could not be difficult, as the rôle played by the Parthenion in the hymn was taken over by the *"'Αγέλαστος πέτρα,"* which was shown to initiates in their visit to Eleusis. Only people like Pausanias, with a strong sense for traditional detail, would have been bothered by this substitution, and to this fact should be attributed Pausanias' mention of the version of Pamphos. For he must have looked for the Parthenion, and, when this was not to be found in the sanctuary area or anywhere else, he noted the well on the way to Megara mentioned in Pamphos' poem.

[41] A passage in Alciphron has been used generally to prove the sanctity of the well. The wife of Mnesilochos, suspected of infidelity, *ἀγαγοῦσα αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Καλλίχορον τὸ ἐν 'Ελευσῖνι φρέαρ ἀπωμόσατο καὶ ἀπελύσατο τὴν αἰτίαν* (III, 69). However, Greeks called upon fountains and springs generally as witnesses when making vows without implying any especial sanctity to them other than that awarded to all such springs. The Thebans, for example, swore "by the fountain of Dirke" in their official vows, although they did not seem to have venerated the spring especially. Cf. James R. Smith, *Springs and Wells in Greek and Roman Literature* (1922), pp. vii, 174. Cf. also the inscription of the Xenokrateia relief and that on the boundary stone published by Svoronos in *Ephemeris*, 1909, 244 ff.

From our discussion we may derive the following three conclusions: 1) that the Parthenion of the Homeric hymn cannot be equated with the Anthion of the poem by Pamphos; 2) that the Kallichoron of the Homeric hymn is not the well known by that name in the fifth century and in later times and which was uncovered at the northeast corner of the Greater Propylaea; but that the well found below the projecting spur on which the Telesterion was built and in front of the northeast end of the foundation of the Stoa of Philo and which was filled during the Archaic Period is the Kallichoron of the hymn; 3) that the well, which was known as the Kallichoron in the fifth century and in later years, and which is known by that name today, is the Parthenion of the Homeric hymn.

CHAPTER V

THE *ΑΓΕΛΑΣΤΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΑ*

"ἔνθα καθεζομένη προκατέσχετο χερσὶ καλύπτρην
. . . ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος
ἧστο πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός."
(Homeric hymn, vv. 196-201)

In contrast to the *νηὸς* and to the *Καλλίχορον* and the *Παρθένιον φρέαρ*, the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* is not mentioned in the Homeric hymn. But apparently it was pointed out in antiquity as the place where Demeter sat to rest before she went to the house of Keleos. The word "*ἀγέλαστος*" used in verse 200 of the Homeric hymn perhaps suggested the name. The existence of this landmark is attested to by the great inscription of the Eleusinian *Epistates* of 329/8. In line 47 of that inscription we read "*σὺν τῆι κομιδεῖ ἀπ' 'Αγελάστου πέτρας: ΗΔΔ.*"[1] Furthermore, Demeter on the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* has been recognized by Rubensohn on a votive relief of the fourth century discovered at Eleusis.[2] In front of the seated, sorrowful Demeter stand men and women worshippers followed by an attendant carrying perhaps the *cista mystica*.

The exact location of the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* has not been definitely determined although three sites have been suggested by scholars. This divergence of qualified opinion was caused by the paucity of the information on the subject preserved in the writings of the ancient authors. Perhaps the most definite statement on the problem is to be found in Apollodoros, I, V, 1. "*καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν 'Αγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον.*" Zenobios, I, 7, elaborating on the proverb "*ἀγέλαστος πέτρα,*" states that "*ἐπὶ τῶν λύπης προξένων πραγμάτων εἴρηται· ἔστι δὲ ἡ πέτρα αὕτη*

[1] *Ephemeris* (1883), pp. 115 ff.
[2] "Demeter auf der *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα,*" *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV (1899), 46 ff. and Pl. VIII, 1.

ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐκαθέσθη ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει" and, further down, he adds, "*εἰκασθεῖσα γυναικὶ ἦκεν (ἡ Δημήτηρ) εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα· ἔνθα ἐπὶ πέτραν ἐκάθισε τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον.*" Diogenianos, I, 7, repeats the proverb and the explanation and places the stone in Attica.[3] Hesychios[4] seems to have borrowed his information from Zenobios perhaps through Diogenianos, when he states, "*ἀγέλαστος πέτρα· ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐκαθέσθη ἡ Δημήτηρ, ὅτε τὴν κόρην ἐζήτει.*" Photios connects the story of Iambe with the *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα*: "*ταύτην (τὴν Ἰάμβην) φασί, τῆς Δήμητρος ἀνηυμένης ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἁρπαγῇ προσελθεῖν περὶ τὸν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐπὶ τῇ νῦν Ἀγελάστῳ καλουμένῃ πέτρᾳ καθημένην καὶ διά τινων χλευασμάτων εἰς γέλωτα προάγεσθαι τὴν θεάν.*"[5] Suidas, on the word "*Σαλαμῖνος*," explains: "*ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα καλουμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπου καθίσαι φησί Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς ἅδου· ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα, ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκαθέσθη ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίουσα, ὅτε ἐζήτει τὴν κόρην.*" The Scholium to Aristophanes' *Knights*, verse 782, repeats this statement of Suidas but adds the information preserved by Zenobios, that Demeter came to Eleusis in the guise of a woman, and there sat on a stone which was henceforth called *ἀγέλαστος*.

These seven passages contain all the information preserved in ancient authors about this interesting landmark. It is to be noticed that four of these passages place the stone definitely at Eleusis, two in Attica, and one "*παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*." Of the two authors, Hesychios and Diogenianos, who place the stone in Attica, the former seems certainly and the latter possibly to owe his information to the first part of Zenobios' statement, which places the stone in that locality. But we have seen that the passage of Zenobios in its second part becomes more definite and specifies Eleusis as the place where the stone was to be seen. It is permissible, therefore, to believe that Hesychios and Diogenianos also had in mind Eleusis when they gave the more

[3] The same information is to be found in the proverbs of the mediaeval *paroemiographoi* Gregorios Kyprios (I, 35) and Apostolios (I, 12) borrowed perhaps from Zenobios and Diogenianos.

[4] *S. v. ἀγέλαστος πέτρα.*

[5] *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, p. 319b, 20.

general term Attica. Suidas' passage merely places the stone "*παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*." This, of course, means "in the territory over which the Athenians rule," and naturally is as vague as the term Attica. Yet, again, in the Scholium where the statement is repeated, the further explanation is added that the stone is at Eleusis, and perhaps Eleusis is implied by the words "*ὅπου καθίσαι φησὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς ἅδου ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα*," because Eleusis in the Orphic hymn to Plouto is considered as the gate to Hades: "*ἄντρον δήμου Ἐλευσῖνος, τόθιπερ πύλ' εἰσὶ Ἀΐδαο.*"[6]

Bekker in his *Anecdota Graeca*[7] states, "*ἔστι δὲ καὶ πέτρα Ἀθήνῃσιν οὕτω λεγομένη*," but there we have to take *Ἀθήνῃσιν* as the equivalent to Suidas' "*παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*," otherwise it will be contrary to all the literary evidence available. Even if we do not want to equate the Attica of the later *paroemiographoi* with Eleusis, the fact still remains that the stone is placed at Eleusis by the majority of our sources.

Thus far three main attempts have been made by scholars to locate the stone, and their conclusions have been accepted and followed by others. Svoronos has suggested that the stone was at Athens and in the district of Agra. Frazer takes it to be at the *Ἄνθιον ῥέαρ* of Pamphos; and Rubensohn recognizes it in the rocky spur of Panaghitsa in the sanctuary at Eleusis. Before we discuss briefly these views, we may emphasize the fact that Pausanias does not mention the rock at all,[8] in spite of the fact that he notices every little monument on the Sacred Way and beyond it on the road to Megara, and discusses the less important stone at Megara.

Svoronos' theory is contrary to all our literary evidence.[9] His

[6] Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922), p. 115. *Carmina de raptu et reditu Proserpinae*, xviii, 12.

[7] *Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων*, p. 337, *s. v.* *ἀγέλαστος*.

[8] This made Foucart, *Éleusis*, p. 342, remark, "il est surprenant que Pausanias ait passé sous silence une antiquitée aussi vénérable."

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 237 ff. It is remarkable that Svoronos should maintain (on p. 259) that Zenobios and the Scholium to Aristophanes place the stone in Attica in general, when, in reality, they specify Eleusis as its locale. Svoronos' emphasis of Bekker's statement is unjustified since that statement is arbitrary and is not based on any ancient authority.

main argument is that the fee recorded in the great inscription of 328/7 as paid for the transportation of 1,600 bricks from the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* to the Eleusinion at Athens is too small—amounting only to two drachmae. Such a small fee would imply that the landmark was very near the Eleusinion at Athens, and he identified it as the boulder at Agra on the east bank of Ilissos, near the Church of St. Photeine. It seems, however, that this statement is based on an apparent mistake in his calculations. For the passage in the inscription reads:

> *"πλίνθοι εἰς τὸ 'Ελευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει*
> *ΧΙΗΗ : δι' ἑκατόν: ΓΗΗΙΙΙ : σὺν τῆι κομιδεῖ*
> *ἀπ' 'Αγελάστου πέτρας: ΗΔΔ."*[10]

In other words, 1,600 bricks at seven drachmae and three obols the hundred cost 120 drachmae including transportation from the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*. I cannot see how the two drachmae mentioned by Svoronos for the transportation were figured out because 1,600 multiplied by seven and three (six obols to a drachma) will give a total of 120 drachmae.[11] Evidently, in the price per hundred, the transportation fee was also included. It is apparent, therefore, that Svoronos' identification is untenable because it is contrary to all the available evidence.

Frazer's suggestion is equally untenable.[12] From the passage of the inscription of 328/7, where "mention is made of the carriage of brick from the Laughless Stone," he concludes that "this perhaps goes to show that the Laughless Stone was not in Eleusis itself but at some distance from it." I fail to see any reason for making or accepting this statement. Perhaps this was stated because the bricks were to be transported from the "Laughless Stone" to the Eleusinion. If by "Eleusinion" was meant the temple in the sanctuary at Eleusis, then this suggestion could

[10] *I. G.*, II-III², 1672, ll. 182-183.

[11] His mistake in calculation developed, perhaps, in the following manner. He multiplied 16 by 7 and that gave 112. Then he multiplied 16 by 3 and found 48 obols. He divided 48 by 6 to find the number of drachmae these obols made, and found 8. Apparently, instead of adding 8, the quotient, to 112, by mistake he added the divisor, 6, to 112, and that gave him a total of 118 drachmae and a balance of 2 drachmae.

[12] *Commentary on Pausanias*, I, 38, 6 and I, 39, 1, pp. 514, 519.

have been maintained. But the inscription specifically mentions "*τὸ 'Ελευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει*," and the transportation of brick to a point in Athens from the "Laughless Stone" is only indicated. The "Laughless Stone" could have been anywhere as far as the inscription is concerned. Again, we have to remember the statement of Apollodoros according to which the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* was by the Kallichoron, which, of course, was not at any great distance from the sanctuary area. Frazer places the stone by the Anthion well on the way to Megara after assuming that Pamphos' story was the official tradition of Eleusis. We have seen, however, that this assumption is wrong. Furthermore, we have the testimony of Pausanias, who states that, according to the story of Pamphos, the Goddess sat "*ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι*" and not by the side of it on a stone. But, even if we assume that Pausanias meant the neighbourhood of the well, although this would leave unexplained the "*ἐπὶ τούτῳ*," it is strange that he did not mention the stone, since he mentioned every other monument which was to be seen around that well, and since, as Frazer admits, "it was shown in historical times." The fact that Pausanias did not mention at all this *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* which "was shown in historical times" seems to indicate that there is only one area within which it should be sought—the area of the sacred precinct of Demeter at Eleusis. For only the monuments within that area were not included in his account. "*Τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ τό τε ὄνειρον ἀπεῖπε γράφειν, καὶ τοῖς οὐ τελεσθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἴργονται δῆλα δήπου μηδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναι σφίσιν.*"[13]

Rubensohn has suggested that the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* is the rocky spur on which the chapel of Panaghitsa now stands, and his suggestion is accepted by the majority of scholars (Fig. 2, *P1*).[14] It is well within the sanctuary area, and it towers over the Ploutonion with its entrance to the lower world (Fig. 2, PN). The existence of the prehistoric ruins on the top and the position of the Mycenaean fortification wall on the edge of that spur will make this suggestion also untenable. It could be maintained that

[13] Pausanias, I, 38, 7.

[14] *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV (1899), 46 ff. Foucart, *Éleusis*, p. 342. Kourouniotes-Travlos, p. 60, n. 2.

the landmark was established after the wall was ruined and had disappeared, and this conclusion is in keeping with the fact that the stone is not mentioned in the Homeric hymn. Yet it is possible to assume that the tradition of the existence of the prehistoric settlement and its wall on top of the hill was remembered in Classical times, especially since no constructions were built at that section in those times. For it is proved that the foundations of the building on the top of that hill, which were noted from the very beginning of the investigation of the sanctuary area and which were considered by Lenormant to belong to the temple of Demeter, are Roman in date;[15] and the earliest remains brought to light by our investigation of the site do not go beyond the end of the fourth century.[16] Besides, we could maintain that the people of the Classical Period knew their standard and official tradition as it was incorporated in the Homeric hymn. They would know, therefore, that the Goddess sat "*ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο,*" in the neighbourhood of the Parthenion well, and that the daughters of Keleos "*ἦϊξαν κοίλην κατ' ἄμαξιτόν*" to take to her, as she sat on the rock, the invitation of their mother. That this rock was called *ἀγέλαστος*, perhaps in the years which followed the composition of the hymn, is indicated by the statement of Photios and the details of the entire story. It is impossible to believe that the top of the spur of Panaghitsa could have been conceived as lying on the edge of *κοίλης ἁμαξιτοῦ*, that a well existed on it or near its top, that it was "*νόσφι πόληος,*" and that it would have been a reasonable resting-place for a tired person coming from Thorikos and following the road from that direction.

In the "'*Ικέτιδες*" of Euripides we will find additional reason for rejecting Rubensohn's suggestion. In the last part of that drama the scene apparently unfolds in the neighbourhood or even in front of the Kallichoron. For Theseus returns to the stage

[15] Philios, *Praktika* (1882), p. 100 and (1883), p. 56, n. 2. Kourouniotes-Travlos, pp. 66 ff. Foucart, *Éleusis*, p. 350, strangely enough states that the chapel of Panaghitsa was demolished, and that, in the place which it once occupied, the remains of the ancient temple appeared. The chapel is still standing on its original site.

[16] Cf. *A. J. A.*, XL (1936), 415 ff. and Fig. 1.

with soldiers bringing the corpses on biers which apparently are deposited on this stage. Certainly these corpses could not have been left within the sanctuary area, and the statement of the chorus expressing its wish,

> *"τὰ καλλίπυργα πεδία πῶς ἱκοίμεθ' ἄν*
> *Καλλίχορον θεᾶς ὕδωρ λιποῦσαι,"*

seems to indicate that the scene is in the neighbourhood of the well.[17] From where the chorus stands, the pyre of Capaneus could be seen, a separate pyre from the one on which the corpses of the other chieftains were to be burned and nearer to the sanctuary area because the corpse of that hero was sacred since it was struck by the "fire of Zeus." Suddenly the members of the chorus notice with surprise Evadne, the wife of Capaneus,

> *"τί ποτ' αἰθερίαν ἔστηκε πέτραν*
> *ἢ τῶνδε δόμων ὑπερακρίζει,*
> *τήνδ' ἐμβαίνουσα κέλευθον."* (Vv. 987-990)

Evadne explains her intentions:

> *"ἐς Ἄϊδαν καταλύσουσ' ἔμμοχθον*
> *βίοτον αἰῶνός τε πόνους"* (vv. 1004-1005),

and the manner in which she will fulfill them:

> *". . . . . ἔνθεν ὅρ-*
> *μάσω τᾶσδ' ἀπὸ πέτρας*
> *πηδήσασα πυρὸς ἔσω."* (Vv. 1016-1018)

In spite of the entreaties of her old father, Iphis, she fulfilled her intentions. Now this *"αἰθερία πέτρα"* from which Evadne could "have hurled her body" can only be the rock of Panaghitsa, the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* of Rubensohn. Yet Euripides does not call it by that name in spite of the dramatic effect which could have been obtained by the proper exploitation of such a name. For all these reasons it seems to me that the top of the hill of Panaghitsa could not have been the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα.*

The only possible definite statement that could be made in

[17] Vv. 794-798; 857-910; 940-941; 618-619, etc.

connection with this venerable landmark at Eleusis is that it was within the sanctuary area and not very far from the Kallichoron of later times, and so not far from the Lesser Propylaea, since these marked the sanctuary entrance from the direction of Athens from Peisistrateian days.[18] Again, the stone must have been in the northern section of the sanctuary because that location is nearer to the well, and it conforms to the indications suggested by the Homeric hymn. It should perhaps be placed by the side of the Sacred Way—the approach from the Lesser Propylaea to the Telesterion—since that way must have followed the only natural path which from prehistoric times led to the village from the direction of Athens. I should like to suggest the area in front of the rock-cut steps and platform immediately beyond the Ploutonion, marked by the letter *H11* in our Figure 2, as the possible location for the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*.[19] The purpose of these "mysterious" cuttings has thus far remained unexplained. Svoronos, indeed, identified them with the "*ἐσχάρα*" of the Goddesses, but we have seen above that this identification is impossible.[20] The stepped cuttings served the same purpose as the similar stepped cuttings in the Telesterion, *i. e.*, as a stand from which people could follow some action performed in the area which they bound. We do not know, of course, what did take place in the celebration of the mysteries, but it is generally assumed that the enacting of the wanderings of Demeter and of her arrival at Eleusis was part of the *δρησμοσύνη*. Certainly, in the course of this action, the arrival of the Goddess at Eleusis and the meeting of Demeter and the daughters of Keleos must have been represented, and it seems possible that this scene of the meeting was enacted at the very place where, in accordance with the tradition, Demeter rested. If the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* was in the area suggested, then the initiates could stand on the steps and platform and could witness the arrival of the Goddess to the Eleusinian gates, her rest by the roadside, her mourning for her lost daughter, and her meeting with the maidens. It is

[18] The remains of the Peisistrateian gateway have been uncovered below the Lesser Propylaea (cf. Noack, *Eleusis*, Pl. XV).

[19] Noack, *Eleusis*, Pls. VIII, XV.

[20] *Supra*, p. 47.

to be noticed that in front of the stand *H11* (Fig. 2) the Sacred Way makes a wide bend, leaving a great deal of space—a regular terrace, on which that part of the drama could be enacted.

It is certain that a great boulder does not exist in that area such as the word *πέτρα* may indicate in its common meaning, and this may be held against our suggestion. Rubensohn has very ingeniously, indeed, suggested that such a boulder should be understood as forming the Mirthless Stone, since in Suidas and in the Scholium to Aristophanes, it is mentioned along with the *Εἰρεσία* of Salamis.[21] This *Εἰρεσία πέτρα* has remained unidentified, but it could be conceived as being a great boulder like the *Λευκαδία πέτρα* in the island of Leukas. Of course, this interpretation is based on an assumption, and we still have to prove that the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* was a large boulder. As for the size of the stone indicated by the word *πέτρα*, it should be remembered that at Megara we have the "*'Ανακληθρίδα πέτρα*," so called, "*ὡς Δημήτηρ . . . . . ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσεν αὐτήν.*"[22] This stone located near the *πρυτανεῖον* of Megara certainly could not have been very large. At Delphi again we have a "*πέτρα . . . . . ἀνίσχουσα ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Δελφοὶ στᾶσάν φασιν ᾗσαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς γυναῖκα ὄνομα 'Ηροφίλην, Σίβυλλαν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν.*" Sibyl's rock could not have been a large boulder since there is no room for such a boulder in the district in which, according to Pausanias and Plutarch, it must be sought.[23] In a similar way the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* could be conceived as a rock of not very large dimensions and at a short distance from the great boulder on top of which the chapel of Panaghitsa has been built. Such a rocky, but not very steep, seat is certainly represented on the fourth-century relief from Eleusis published by Rubensohn. From this same relief we have learned that certain religious rites were held in front of the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*, and

[21] The action of Evadne would then parallel that of Sapho, who jumped from the "*Λευκάδα πέτρη*," which also marked the path to the lower world (cf. *Odyssey*, *ω*, 11-13).

[22] Pausanias, I, 43, 2 "*ἀνακληθρὶς*"; also "*ἀνακλήθρα.*"

[23] Pausanias, X, 12, 1 and Frazer's comment (cf. X, 12, 5-6). Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 9.

these could have been followed by the initiates who stood on the steps and on the platform of structure *H11*.[24]

The *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* placed in that area would not only be at the nearest possible point within the sanctuary walls to the Kallichoron, but it would also be very near the Ploutonion, the Entrance to Hades, and this could account for the tradition of Theseus sitting on that stone before making his trip to the nether world. The initiates entering the sanctuary area, and about to follow the Goddess in her experience, would first see the place beyond the well where the Goddess rested and then would move on to her temple where her *"ὄργια"* were to be revealed to them.

The discussion of the evidence concerning the location of the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* could be briefly summarized as follows: Our literary and other evidence concerning this landmark is very scanty, but, meagre as it is, it seems to prove that the stone was in the Eleusinian sanctuary area. It could not have been in Athens and in the district of Agra, as Svoronos has maintained, nor on the road to Megara beyond Eleusis and by the side of the Anthion well, as Frazer has suggested. It must have been within the sanctuary area. Rubensohn's suggestion that the top of the hill of Panaghitsa is the *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα* would conflict with the indications suggested by the Homeric hymn and with the evidence obtained in our recent investigation of the top of that hill. We believe that the only possible location of the stone is in the area in front of the cut steps and platform *H11* by the side of the Sacred Way, near the entrance to the Ploutonion, and by the south portico of the Lesser Propylaea. This location will agree with every indication preserved in our tradition and with Apollodoros' definite pronouncement: *"ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν 'Αγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον."*

[24] That the relief does not represent some stage of the rites of the Thesmophoria when *'Αθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες . . . χαμαὶ καθήμεναι* (Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 69, p. 378 D), is indicated by the presence of men in the composition (cf. Farnell, III, 235).

CHAPTER VI

EPILOGUE

"'Αλλ' ἄγ' 'Ελευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι
. . . . . .
πότνια ἀγλαόδωρ' ὠρηφόρε Δηοῖ ἄνασσα
αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνεια
πρόφρονες ἀντ' ᾠδῆς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὀπάζειν.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς."
(Homeric hymn, vv. 490-495)

The topographic evidence preserved in the verses of the so-called Homeric hymn to Demeter is very important and can help define the nature and character of the sanctuary at the beginnings of its life history. The date and the author of the hymn will remain uncertain and unknown, but the evidence preserved in its verses echoes well-remembered and well-known traditions regarding landmarks of the early Eleusinian sanctuary. The palace of the ruler Keleos on top of the Eleusinian akropolis; the fortification wall around his citadel; the resting-place of the Goddess at the Parthenion and by the side of the only natural road which led to the prehistoric village of Eleusis; the projecting knoll beyond the citadel wall in the unoccupied area of the terrain, on top of which the temple of Demeter was constructed and at the foot of which the Kallichoron well was to be seen at the time of the visit of the Goddess to Eleusis; all were landmarks around which the intricate cult of Demeter was woven. The author of the hymn had in mind, and it has been proved, that he was describing conditions existing at Eleusis during the Mycenaean or Late Helladic Age. Therefore, the evidence which he has preserved for us in his verses can be used with confidence as a guide to the remote architectural history of Eleusis.

On the other hand, the excavations conducted at Eleusis in the last ten years by Kourouniotes and his collaborators have brought to light interesting and important remains which can be equated with the landmarks mentioned in the hymn. The cita-

del of Eleusis is proved to have been occupied in the Late Helladic Period. Its fortification wall following the configuration of the ground could be placed with a great degree of probability if not of accuracy on a line determined by the edge of the spur of Panaghitsa. The remains of a Mycenaean sanctuary were unearthed over the area on which the later Telesteria of the Goddess were constructed. This sanctuary was erected on a projecting rocky ledge which was unoccupied in the Late Helladic II times when the Goddess is reported to have visited Eleusis. At the foot of this rocky eminence a well of great antiquity was found which was filled in during the Archaic Period. Another well exists by the side of the road which led to the prehistoric village of Eleusis, in the direction of Athens, and at some distance from that village. We have reasons to believe that the very rock on which the Goddess sat to rest was near that well and that it was pointed out to the pilgrims in the fourth century at least. The road which later became the *Via Sacra* of Eleusis is the only natural approach to our prehistoric village.

If we compare the references to Eleusinian landmarks with the evidence unearthed by archaeologists, we shall find that their agreement is very striking. In the ruins of the akropolis we have the remains of the citadel mentioned in the hymn. In the ruins of the sanctuary on the rocky ledge of the Telesterion area, we have the temple of Demeter erected by the Eleusinians at her command. In the well below that rock, we have the Kallichoron of the Homeric hymn, *καθύπερθεν* of which the temple of Demeter was constructed. In the well which today and in the Classical Period was known as Kallichoron, we have the Parthenion of the hymn, and at a short distance from it, in front of the rock-hewn platform *H11*, we have the famous *'Αγέλαστος πέτρα*.

The most sacred landmarks of Eleusis specified in the Homeric hymn can thus be equated with specific remains unearthed in the last decade or known from previous excavations. They allow us to picture the sanctuary area at the beginning of its life. It comprised a small sanctuary, unpretentious but adequate, for the people of Eleusis who formed its only devotees. As time went on and the cult became more and more popular, this simple sanc-

tuary was expanded more and more to fill the growing demand until it reached unbelievable proportions. The small temple on the rocky ledge was gradually transformed into the palatial Telesterion. Its unpretentious *peribolos* wall was replaced by strong fortifications with towers and marble propylaea. Its village road was lined with magnificent votive offerings and its courts with the altars and gifts of grateful initiates. Many centuries later the splendour of the sanctuary was eclipsed by the light of the Saviour; and its cult, which influenced the Hellenic world for at least two millennia, had to retreat before the saving rites of Christianity. The doctrine which inspired the world for so long was gradually forgotten, and its secrets were buried with its last ἱεροφάντης. The παγὰ λαλέουσα is now silent, and in vain the archaeologist will try to read in the broken stones of the great Telesterion the secrets of its power, although he may be successful in reconstructing the setting in which its splendours were presented.

INDEX

Acrocorinth, 51.
Adrastos, 47, 49.
aethousa, 16, 18, 19, 53, 54.
Aethra, 44, 45, 46, 51.
Agelastos petra, 7, 77, 78, 80, 82-91, 93; at Agra, 84; by Anthion, 86; at Panaghitsa, 86; at platform *H11*, 89-91.
Agra, 84, 85, 91.
akropolis, of Athens, 14, 49; of Eleusis, 19, 31, 32, 34, 57, 58, 60, 63, 92.
Alaric, 5.
Alcinoos, 16, 17, 18.
Allen, T. W., 10, 11, 13, 22, 38, 71, 77.
altars, 24, 45, 47, 48, 50, 89; see also *bomos* and *eschara*.
anaktoron, 46, 47, 50.
Androclos, 40, 56.
Anthedon, 56.
Anthion, well, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 81, 84, 86, 91.
Apollo, 25, 26, 27, 28, 45, 49, 56.
Apollodoros, 14, 65, 68, 77, 78, 82, 86, 91.
Archaeological Society of Greece, 5, 6; service, 6.
Archaic, Period, 49, 75, 77, 81, 93; see also Telesterion.
architectural, history, 10, 15, 22, 23, 93, 94.
Argive, woman, 67, 68, 69; chorus, 45, 46, 47, 48; tradition, 69.
Argos, 68, 69.
Aristophanes, 83, 84, 90.
Aristotle, 40.
Artemis, 58, 76.
Arvanitopoulos, A., 49.
Asine, 28, 54, 58, 59.
Athena, 17, 28, 49.
Athenaeos, 56, 70.
Athenian, commonwealth, 2, 4; conquest, 11, 12, 13; akropolis, 14, 49; Agora, 21; gate, 47, 48.
Athenians, 11, 12, 14, 26, 83, 84.
Athens, 9, 11, 13, 40, 44, 45, 48, 57, 66, 67, 72, 73, 75, 79, 85, 86, 89, 91.
Atreus, 18.
Attica, 5, 50, 66, 68, 83, 84.
Augustus, 2.
aule, 6; see also court.

Basilis, 56.
Bekker, I., 83, 84.
Blavette, C., 29, 30, 32, 36, 37.
Blegen, C. W., 54, 58.
Boeotia, 66.
Brehier, L., 15.
bomos, 23, 24, 28, 34, 47, 61; see also altars.
buildings, *L10*, 36; prehistoric, 31, 32, 40, 42, 56, 57, 58, 62; religious, 43, 49, 54, 60, 62; on sacred ground, 41; of sanctuary, 5, 37, 39, 40, 48, 53.

Capaneus, 88.
Carter, A. L., 8.
Christian, times, 3, 5, 75; crosses, 5; graves, 3.
citadel, of Eleusis, 24, 32, 60, 92.
Classical, Period, 9, 21, 35, 39, 77, 87, 93.
court, 3, 5, 9; see also *aule*.
Cretan, palaces, 62; shrines, 63; woman, 66, 68.
Crete, 4, 23, 28, 63.
cult, centers, 1, 27; continuity of cult places, 41, 55; see also mysteries.

daughters, of Keleos, 17, 23, 67, 71, 77.
Delos, 25, 55.
Delphi, 25, 45, 55, 90.
Demeter, throughout; story, 7, 9; arrival and visit, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 66, 93; orders, 31; Chthonia, 51; Despoina, 70; Eleusinia, 40, 56; Pelasgis, 69; Doso, 23.
Demophoon, 16, 22, 23.
Deubner, L. A., 46, 50.
Dilettanti, Society of, 5.
Diogenianos, 83.
Dionysos, 3, 14.
Doerpfeld, W., 6.
Domitian, 2.
domos, 16, 17, 18, 19, 46, 53, 54, 59, 73, 88.
dwellings, 32, 33.

Egypt, 4.
Eleusinian, sanctuary, throughout; cult, 2, 5, 13, 38, 57, 79; introduced, 14, 39, 69, 73; topography, 7, 23, 33, 72, 77; author of hymn, 22, 23.
Eleusinians, leaders, princes, 23, 31, 44, 57.
Eleusinion, 85, 86.
Eleusis, throughout.
Eleutherae, 66.
Ephesos, 40.
epic poetry, 17, 28.
Erechtheus, 14, 39.
Erichthonios, 14.
eschara, 45, 89; see also altar and *bomos*.
Eubouleus, 68.
Eumolpos, 11, 14, 15, 39, 56, 70, 71.
Euripides, 9, 44, 45, 47, 48, 75, 79, 87.
Evadne, 88, 90.
Evans, Sir Arthur, 4, 28, 63.
evidence, archaeological and literary, 10, 11, 12, 14, 19, 22, 28-29, 31, 43, 49, 57, 77, 92.
excavations, of site, 3, 5, 6, 7, 24; of prehistoric settlement and hill, 19, 32, 34, 66; of the Telesterion area, 13, 29, 37, 38, 40-43, 53-54, 63, 92, 93; of the wells, 74, 75.

Farnell, L. R., 4, 11, 45, 56, 70, 91.
figurine, clay Mycenaean, 54.
Fisher, R. L., 8.
Foerster, H., 10.
fortification, walls of Eleusis, 4, 9, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 44, 58, 60, 79, 86, 87, 93.
Foucart, P., 2, 4, 29, 46, 61, 84, 86, 87.
Frazer, J. G., 14, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 78, 84, 85, 86, 90, 91.
fresco, in Megaron, 54, 59.
Froedin, O., 28, 54, 58.

Gardner, P., 4.
gate, north or Athenian, 45, 47, 48; of Hades, 84; Peisistrateian, 89; south, 55.
Geometric, Period, times, post, Late, 15; houses, 19, 20, 21, 22, 56; terrace, 38; precinct, 41, 43; building, 43; cemetery, 6; temples, 49; political system, 15.
Giannelli, G., 2.
Gournia, shrine at, 28.
graves, Christian, 3; beehive, 13.
guide-books, to site, 6, 21.

Hades, 1, 69, 70, 83, 84, 88, 91.
Hadrian, 2.
Haghios Kosmas, 58.
Halliday, W. R., 10, 11, 13, 22, 38, 71, 77.
hearth, room with, 16, 18, 58.
Helen, of Menelaos, 17, 18.
Helios, 68.
Helladic, Late Helladic Period, remains, 19, 32, 34, 38, 42, 43, 58, 60, 66, 73, 92, 93; Megaron, 43, 54; houses, 19. Middle Helladic, times, remains, 32, 39, 42, 60; script, 56. See also Mycenaean.
Hermione, 51, 57, 68, 70.
Herodotos, 4, 25, 26, 40.
Hesiod, 9, 24; Hesiodic, Period, 11.
Hesychios, 26, 56, 83.
hiera oekia, 19, 20, 21, 22, 55; function, 21.
hieron, 37, 64.
Hierophantes, 68, 94.
Hiketides, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 64, 79, 87, 88; staged at Eleusis, 46-48.
hill, of Eleusis, 31, 32, 34, 57, 58, 59, 60, 66.
Homer, 25, 26, 27, 70, 71, 72.
house, types, 22; Geometric, 19, 21, 22; Mycenaean, 19, 20, 58, 59; Late Helladic, 34; principles of construction, 21, 22, 33.
hymn, Homeric, throughout; date, 10-14, 92; author, 15, 22, 26, 29, 33; events pictured, 14-15; topographic indications, 24; evidence, 11, 12, 22; of Pamphos, 26, 65, 68, 72.
hymnographers, 25, 26, 27.
hypostyle hall, Telesterion in form of, 39, 49, 62, 63.

Iktinos, 5, 37.
Iliad, 28, 29, 57, 70, 71.
Ilissos, 85.
Immarados, 14, 15.
initiates, 2, 3, 39, 61.
inscriptions, 44, 47, 50, 56, 57, 82, 85.
Iphis, 88.
Isocrates, 14.

Jacoby, F., 14.
Justinian, 3.

Kallichoron, well, 23, 24, 28, 31, 38, 64-81, 82, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93; relative to position of temple, 38, 51-53.
Kallimachos, 9, 77, 78.
Keleos, 7, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 31, 71, 80, 82, 92.
Keramopoullos, A., 45, 55.
Kern, O., 2, 25, 50, 84.
Kimon, 5.
Knossos, 28, 62.
kolonos, 28, 31, 33, 34, 51, 60, 63, 92.
Korakou, houses of, 54, 58, 59.
kore, 44, 48, 51, 56, 68, 69, 70, 83; see also Persephone and *pais*.
Koroebos, 46, 47, 59.
Kourouniotes, K., 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 19, 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 59, 66, 74, 75, 86, 87, 92.
Kynaethos, 26, 27.
Kypselos, 56.

landmarks, topographic, sacred, 1, 7, 14, 23, 24, 64, 69, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87, 89, 92, 93.
Lenormant, 5, 87.
Lerna, 69.
Leukas, Leukadia, 90.
literary, sources, 10, 14, 24-27, 28, 37.
Loebeck, C. A., 2.
Lykomidae, 25, 26, 72.
Lykosoura, 60, 70, 71.
Lykourgos, 5, 14.

Magnien, V., 3.
maidens, of Eleusis, 65, 67.
Mallia, palace at, 28, 62.
Malthi-Dorion, 54, 58, 59.
Meautis, G., 3.
Megara, 65, 66, 67, 78, 80, 84, 86, 90, 91.
megaron, unit of palace, 18, 20, 43; parts, 18, 19, 20; of Keleos, 19.
Megaron, temple, 42-43, 52, 53-54, 58; religious use, 54-60; agreement with hymn, 60-62, 63.
Menelaos, 16, 17, 18.
Metaneira, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23, 65, 80.
Miletos, 40.
Minoan, practice, 31; sanctuaries, 31, 62, 63; structures, 62; see also Cretan.
Mousaeos, 25, 26, 71.
Mycenae, 54, 58.
Mycenaean, Age, Period, times, 13, 14, 15, 22, 24, 29, 30, 32, 36, 37, 39, 55, 57, 62, 63, 67, 92; practice, 31, 33, 34; remains, 13, 19, 24, 32, 38, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 63, 86; see also Megaron and Helladic.
Mylonas, G. E., 4, 7, 13, 19, 21, 32, 33, 34, 54, 56, 58, 66, 69, 75, 77.
Myres, J. L., 69.
mysteries, at Eleusis, 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 25, 39, 42; beginnings, 3, 10, 24, 39, 40; length, 3-4; local, 2; Panhellenic, 2; Universal, 2; origin, Egyptian, 4, Cretan, 4, 63, northern, 4, 57, prehistoric, 62; secret character, 24, 61; stages and elements, 3, 61, 89; dispersal, 40, 55-56; at Phlya, 72; at Pheneos, 56, 61.

Naos, 56.
neos, see temple.
Nicander, 9, 77.
Nilsson, M. P., 15, 28, 54, 55.
Noack, F., 6, 7, 10, 12, 13, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 60, 63, 74, 75, 89.
Nonnus, 9.

Odysseus, 16, 18.
Odyssey, 16, 17, 18, 19, 28, 29, 70, 71, 90.
Olen, 25, 26.
Olynthos, 21.
orgia, 28, 38, 61, 91.
Orpheus, 25, 26, 71.
Orphica, 25.
Ovid, 9.

pais, 56-57, 65.
palace, Eleusinian, 57; of Keleos, 15, 16, 18, 22, 28, 31; Mycenaean, 13, 17, 18, 19, 31, 57.
Pamphos, 25, 26, 65, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73, 78, 80, 81, 84, 86.
Panaghitsa, chapel, rocky spur, hill, 12, 19, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 51, 66, 76, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 93.
Pandion, 14, 40.
Parian marble, 14, 39, 40, 55.
Parthenion, well, 23, 24, 64-81, 82, 93.
pastas, 21.

Pausanias, 9, 14, 24, 25, 26, 40, 51, 56, 57, 60, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76, 80, 84, 86, 90.
Peisistrateian, times, days, 30, 33, 34, 35, 44, 89; blocks, 36; Telesterion, 44, 48, 50, 60.
Peisistratos, 5, 30.
Pelasgos, 68, 69.
Peloponnesos, 55, 66.
peribolos, 3, 42, 52, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 69, 75, 94.
Perikleian, 35, 37, 46, 48, 49, 53.
Perikles, 5, 35, 46.
Persephone, 1, 2, 3, 9, 23, 50, 51, 56, 68, 70; see also *kore* and *pais*.
Persson, A. W., 4, 28, 54, 58, 62, 63.
petra, see *Agelastos;* meaning, 90; Eiresia, 90; Leukadia, 90; Sibyl's, 90; Anaklethris, 90.
Phaeacians, 16, 18.
Pheidias, the sculptor, 50.
Pheneos, mysteries at, 56, 61.
Philios, D., 6, 24, 29, 30, 31, 36, 37, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 74, 78, 87.
Philistos, 40.
Philo, 5, 75, 76, 81.
Philonian, stoa, 60.
Phlious, 57.
Photios, 78, 83, 87.
Picard, C., 4, 10, 11, 29, 62, 63.
pilgrims, 1, 4.
Pindar, 2, 27.
platform, of the Megaron, 54, 58, 59, 61; *H11* at Eleusis, 47, 48, 89, 90, 91, 93.
Plato, 14, 26.
Plouto, 68, 70, 84.
Ploutonion, 39, 41, 47, 86, 89, 91.
Plutarch, 2, 46, 90, 91.
polis, 28, 31, 73, 87.
political system, 15.
portico, 16, 17, 19, 21, 49, 53, 58.
Poseidon, 76.
pottery, vases, amphora, 3, 32, 42, 54, 56.
problems, date of hymn, 12; architectural, 22; topographic, 22, 64.
prodomos, 16, 18.
propylaea, 5; Greater, 5, 51, 74, 76, 78, 79, 81; Lesser, 5, 48, 56, 89, 91.
prostoon, 44, 48.
proverbs, 82, 83.
pyre, sacrificial, 42.
reliefs, 80, 82.
remains, Geometric, 38; Middle Helladic, 39; prehistoric, 6, 22, 31, 32, 34, 38, 43; of sanctuaries, 54.
Rheitoi, decree, 44.
Rhomaeos, K., 49.
rites, see mysteries.
roads, of Eleusis, 48, 65, 66, 67, 78, 87.
Robinson, D. M., 21.
Roman, period, world, 2, 5, 31, 36; buildings, 30, 32, 87.
Rubensohn, O., 29, 30, 35, 36, 37, 45, 46, 47, 82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91.
Ruhnken, D., 67, 68.

sacred ground, 41, 43, 55.
Sacred Way, 2, 3, 9, 11, 35, 45, 46, 48, 76, 84, 89, 90, 91, 93.
Salamis, 1, 11, 12, 83, 90.
Sapho, 26, 90.
scholars, on Eleusis and hymn, 2, 6, 24, 29, 34, 44, 69.
sekos, 37, 45.
Sellinger, A. E., 8.
settlement, village, prehistoric, 66, 67, 72, 73, 74, 76, 87, 92.
Shipley, F. W., 8.
Sikes, E. E., 10, 11, 13, 22, 38, 71, 77.
Skias, A., 6, 31.
Solon, 12.
Sophocles, 1.
Sparta, 18, 58.
springs, 65, 66, 80.
stairways, 35, 36, 54.
stathmos, 16, 17.
statue, cult, 49, 50, 51.
stoa, Poekile, 3; of Philo, 60, 75, 76; Peisistrateian, 60.
Strabo, 37, 40, 56, 68.
Suidas, 83, 84, 90.
Sulla, 2.
Svoronos, J., 45, 47, 78, 80, 84, 85, 91.

Telemachos, 16, 17.
Telesterion, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 46, 48, 75, 76, 80, 81, 89, 93, 94; Archaic, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 53, 62; Peisistrateian, 44, 48, 50; Perikleian, 36, 44, 48, 49; earliest, 43; plans of, 43, 44; elliptical, 41, 42, 49; square, 38, 39-49; same as

temple of Demeter, 29, 37, 53; different from temple of Demeter, 12, 13, 29, 36, 37, 39.
temenos, 1, 12, 37.
temple, Greek, 28, 29, 39, 44, 46, 47.
temple, of Demeter, 12, 13, 23, 24, 28-63; ordered by Goddess, 23, 31; earliest on Panaghitsa spur, 29, 30, 32, 37, 51; on Telesterion area, 62, 63; relation to Telesterion, 29; same as Telesterion, 13, 29, 37, 53, 62, 63; equation, 37, 38-53; different from Telesterion, 13, 29, 34, 36, 37, 39, 51; objections, 38-53; archaeological evidence, 32-37, 39-43; inscriptional evidence, 44, 45.
Temple F, so-called, 30, 34, 35, 36, 46, 47; date, 35-36.
terraces, artificial, earliest, 12, 13; of Telesterion, 13, 35, 40, 48; of Panaghitsa, 32; Late Geometric, 38, 42; of Temple F, 30.
thalamos, 16, 17, 18, 19.
theatral area, in Crete, 62.
Thebes, 54, 55, 79.
Theseus, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 79, 83, 84, 87, 91.
Thessaly, 4.
Tholos, of Athens, 21.
Thompson, H. A., 21.
Thorikos, 23, 66, 67, 72, 75, 76, 87.
Thrace, 4.
Thucydides, 14.
Tiryns, frescoes of, 54.
topography, of Eleusis, 23, 33, 41, 44, 92; topographic elements, 24, 69, 78; value, 26; of Attica, 66.
traditions, Argive, 69; Eleusinian, 22, 23, 72, 78, 86, 87; literary, 10, 55, 92.
Travlos, J., 33, 34, 36, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 86, 87.
Triptolemos, 1, 11, 68, 76.
Trochilos, 68.

Valmin, N., 54, 58.
Vlika, spring at, as Anthion, 65.
Vroulia, sanctuary at, 54.

wells, 7, 64-81, 93; dates, 67, 75; equation Anthion and Parthenion, 66-67.
Willamowitz, M., 10.
woman, old, 16, 23, 65, 67, 83; see also Argive.

Zenobios, 82, 83, 84.
Zeus, 70, 88.
Zygouries, houses at, 58.